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The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

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Media
D's revenge: snappers in jail?
 62 pages 7/9

IRA denies responsibility for hotel bombing □ Fourth night of violence in Belfast

Ulster: Hell beckons

Serbs told to oust rogues

David Sharrock
Ireland Correspondent



A 1,200lb bomb which put 40 people in hospital and wrecked one of Northern Ireland's best hotels yesterday threatened to push the province back into full-scale paramilitary violence.

As London and Dublin struggled to repair the political damage of the weekend's angry exchanges between John Major and the Irish prime minister, John Bruton, loyalists last night said the explosion, which devastated the Killybeggin Hotel in Enniskillen, Co Fermanagh, could end their ceasefire which was called in October 1994.

David Ervine of the Progressive Unionist Party said: "The ceasefire is absolutely, totally and utterly in jeopardy. The events of this week may be a bridge too far."

His colleague Billy Hutchinson said: "If it breaks down we will fall into a hole that deep we will never be able to get out of it again. I think that the last 25 years, with more than 3,000 people killed, it will be worse than that."

The warning came as Londonderry and parts of Belfast saw their fourth night of rioting, with police and youths exchanging hundreds of petrol bombs and plastic bullets.

The street violence was sparked by the RUC's U-turn last Thursday in Portadown, when 1,300 Orangemen were allowed to pass through a Catholic housing estate. Nationalist church leaders and politicians called it a surrender to mob rule and the threat of Orange violence.

The IRA swiftly denied responsibility for yesterday's bomb — the first in the province for almost two years. Sinn Féin's president, Gerry Adams, claimed there were sinister motives behind it.

"Whoever the authors of this are and whoever admits responsibility for it, I remain entirely and I think justifiably suspicious of what has happened at this time."

"The timing is so fortuitous for the British Government and for the Unionists," Mr Adams said during an anti-RUC rally in west Belfast. But the police remain sceptical of the IRA denial.

Peter Robinson, deputy leader of the Democratic Unionists, said: "I don't believe a word of it. It certainly was an IRA bomb. They are the people who have the capabilities to carry out such an attack. There is no question it was the IRA."

Some security sources in the Irish Republic blamed a tiny republican splinter group, Republican Sinn Féin, which split from the Provisionals in 1986.

The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, who is to make a statement in the Commons today, held meetings yesterday with the RUC chief constable, Sir Hugh Amessley, and the army chief, Rupert Smith, to discuss the worsening security situation. Sir Patrick called the bombing reckless and disgraceful.

"While it is still too early to say which organisation was responsible, it is clear that the IRA are not the only group who have the capability to carry out such an attack. There is no question it was the IRA."

Ulster in turmoil page 3
 London, and Roy Hattersley, page 6
 Paul Foot, page 9



The devastated Killybeggin Hotel in Enniskillen, Co Fermanagh, yesterday, wrecked by a 1,200lb bomb on Saturday night. PHOTOGRAPH: ALAN LEWIS

Jonathan Freedland
in Washington

THE architect of the Dayton peace accord for Bosnia, Richard Holbrooke, flies to Belgrade today to demand that Serbia's president, Slobodan Milosevic, finally remove from power the two main Bosnian Serb leaders, wanted on war crimes charges.

In a sign of Washington's concern over the fragile peace accord — heightened by Bosnian Muslim threats yesterday to boycott September's election if Radovan Karadzic retains power — President Clinton ordered the tough-talking former assistant secretary of state out of semi-retirement to take on the mission.

Mr Holbrooke has orders to demand that Mr Milosevic depose Mr Karadzic and the Bosnian Serb military leader, General Ratko Mladic, which the Serb president had promised to do as part of the pact.

Bosnia's Muslim-led government threatened yesterday to sit out the September 14 election — the centrepiece of the US plan for Bosnia — if there was no action against the men.

"I think it is beyond the dignity of the Bosnian people to vote in the presence of Karadzic as leader of the major party in elections including the Serb entity," the Bosnian prime minister said.

Even if Mr Holbrooke succeeds in having the two Serb leaders stripped of power, it may not be enough. Bosnian Muslims want the two men handed to the war crimes tribunal in The Hague, where they have been indicted.

Yesterday the French defence minister, Charles Millon, called for the rules of engagement of the Nato-led peacekeeping force to be altered to allow it to capture the two men. He said France would "use all means" to get the Security Council to agree to the change.

Gadafy scores 20, Libyans nil

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

AT LEAST 20 Libyan football fans have been shot dead in the latest expression of Colonel Muammar Gadafy's unique approach to law and order, according to reports from the Libyan capital, Tripoli.

The shooting apparently started when supporters chanted slogans against the Libyan ruler after the referee, on a deciding shot, sided with a team Col Gadafy's sons in the crowd were supporting, one diplomat said.

Where Col Gadafy's sons go, armed guards always follow. Outraged by the taunts, the guards opened fire on the spectators, some of whom returned fire.

The result, said diplomats, was anything from 20 to 50 killed, and dozens wounded.

The bloody events took place last Tuesday, but only emerged yesterday in news agency reports quoting unnamed diplomatic sources.

The shooting was followed, said the sources, by rioting outside the Tripoli stadium, with attacks on foreigners.

Inside the ground, where 60,000 spectators had been watching a local derby between al-Ahly and al-Itihad, fans invaded the pitch and

one of them stabbed the referee.

One diplomatic source suggested that most of the victims were killed and wounded in the crush, as frantic fans pressed into the exits.

There has been growing unrest in Libya, where the once-booming economy has been hit by United Nations sanctions imposed after the bombing of a Pan Am jumbo jet over Lockerbie in 1988.

The Gadafy regime, which has steadfastly refused to hand over two suspects in the bombing, is opposed by Islamist militants whose main power base is Benghazi. Last week five people were reported killed in clashes with police in the coastal town.

Libyan state television and radio conceded yesterday there had been riots, and lives had been lost, but did not say how many.

Yesterday was declared a day of mourning. Television programmes were broadcast in black and white. Parties in restaurants and clubs were ordered cancelled.

And it was announced that the two unfortunate football teams, which did nothing whatever to provoke the bloodletting, had been disbanded. For the record, al-Ahly won 1-0.

English examinees prove a class divided by common clangers

Martin Wainwright

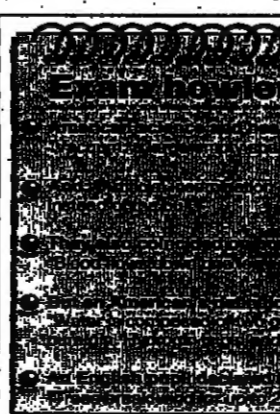
TALKING down Britain's educational standards is about to take a knock — with the revelation that classroom clangers are the same throughout the English-speaking world.

The nervous GCSE examinees' belief that a vacuum is "a large empty space where the Pope lives" is shared by sixth-graders in the United States, along with the theories that magnets are "found crawling over a dead cat".

In a parallel in a field long believed to be a British speciality have emerged from an academic study of exam howlers in North America, English-speaking Africa and British schools.

Data collected by the London-based Journal of Biological Education shows children in all three continents made the same mistakes as the exam clock ticked away.

The Equator was independently described as "a lion running around the Earth and through Africa", while pupils taking entirely separate health and science papers, on different sides of the Atlantic, concurred that



"blood flows down one leg and up the other".

Prompted, possibly, by a conyness common to biology teachers in Manchester, Minneapolis and Mombasa, other pupils agreed: "Artificial insemination is when the farmer does it to the cow instead of the bull."

John Barker, co-editor of the Journal of Biological Education, said yesterday that analysis of the shared mistakes provided an insight into the working of young minds. He said: "Given similar subjects, children will make the same sort of errors."

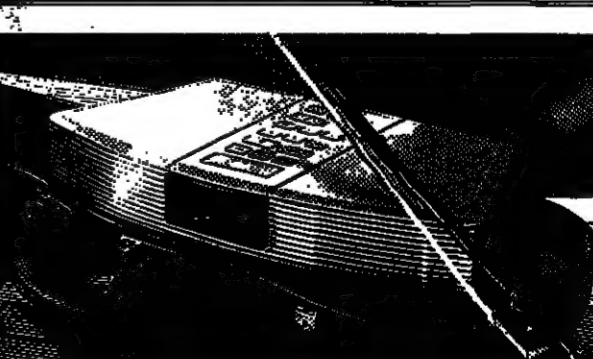
He added: "It's interesting that although American has become a different form of English, the mistakes remain the same."



The journal acknowledges the incompleteness of its material because exam boards tend to frown on anything which might be seen as making fun of students. A spokesman for the Associated Examining Board, one of four which set A-level papers in Britain, said: "This is confidential material... We don't think it is right to laugh at the expense of students."

Fear of embarrassing probably deliberate bungles — like a young American's definition of water as "composed of two gases: oxygen is pure gin and hydrogen is gin and water" — also plays a part in suppressing the howlers. But many of the errors form evidence of ingenious minds.

An African pupil, whose references to Henry VIII helping Anne Boleyn with the ironing forced an examiner, turned out to have an arcane textbook describing how the king "pressed his suit". And an American student would have earned the appreciation of Mark Twain with "a skeleton is what is left after the insides have been taken out and the outside have been taken off. The purpose of the skeleton is something to hitch meat to".



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2 NEWS

Mandela graces a homage to colonialism

Foreigners star in two main events in the republic's calendar, Bastille Day celebrations and a bicycle race which ends in the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe

Monday sketch



Paul Webster

WATCHING Nelson Mandela reviewing the elite of the French army on the Champs Elysees yesterday, it seemed that France had invited the perfect embodiment of those key republican values — liberty, equality and fraternity.

The South African president would probably be too polite to say what he really thought as he stood to attention, smiling to himself during the annual Bastille Day parade of toy soldiers that paid homage to years of colonialism far removed from the ideals of 1789.

world's biggest public forum. The blue painted lines guiding the Foreign Legion and other Empire-building regiments over the cobblestones will hardly be rubbed out by today's rush hour traffic before another half million spectators will be getting ready to watch the last lap of the Tour de France cycle race under the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe.

This year, the two biggest events in the republican calendar clearly have something in common. July 14 may be about pride in being French, but foreigners were the stars. After Mr. Mandela goes home and the RAF planes that took part in yesterday's show return to their British and German bases, France's best known sporting occasion will end with a victor from Denmark, Russia or Switzerland with Frenchmen trailing a long way behind.

Like England and its soccer, France has long ago had to come to terms with foreigners dominating its favourite sport, but this seems to take nothing away from the universal self-confidence in French values.

Deep down, a Frenchman is convinced that all the world envies his way of life and that has contributed to the ease with which France has embraced Europeanism.



All the president's men... Nelson Mandela inspects guard of honour after arriving at Orly airport

The Bastille Day march past is part of a process of drawing the best from history's profit and loss column, especially as it recalls more military defeats by other European powers than successes. Two years ago, German tanks and armoured cars mo-

tered down the avenue for the first time since the war. Yesterday, RAF Tornados, led by Wing Commander Graham Bowerman, thundered across Paris on their own bridge-making mission. Even without the welcome for old enemies, make peace,

not war, was the unheralded theme. The Foreign Legion and Marine regiments that cut out a colonial empire by violence, wore uniforms flying with medals from peace-keeping missions in Lebanon and Bosnia. Jacques Chirac's decision to end conscription,

pull back France's troops from Germany and disband at least 40 regiments meant that much of the military might on view was heading for the breaker's yard. The days of the second Grande Armée were numbered and the prospect of

losses on the scale of Napoleon's flight from Russia was celebrated prematurely by the 4,000 people, mostly young provincials, invited to another ritual, the Elysee garden party, and the open air presidential press conference.

Under Francois Mitterrand, the president's garden used to be the venue for Le Tout Paris where personalities fought, begged and bribed for their invitations. Under the rule of Jacques Chirac, master of the handshake and backslap, it was a more proletarian hunt in the tradition of a mass popular fest that began on Friday night and ended in the early hours of this Monday morning.

While television cameras concentrated on the sprinkling of innovations in the Bastille parade, including the Paris police and women ambulance crews, much of the country was still sleeping off the effects of a night of dancing, drinking and fireworks. Around midday, they were getting ready for another session last night that included Paris's splurge of millions of francs on a celestial display around the Eiffel Tower.

I spent Saturday at Marly le Roi, the chateau of Louis XVI's Bastille Day diary entry which reads, "Rien," written after returning to his hunting lodge after a hard day

in the Marly forest on July 14 1789.

These days he would have to write "Beaucoup" as there is hardly a village among France's 36,000 communes that does not pay out a large proportion of its annual municipal budget on celebrations amounting to the most important family ritual of the year and a mating ritual at which an estimated quarter of the population meets their future spouses. Not to be outdone by Paris's Europeanism, Marly invited a German band to lead its parade and played out its fireworks to the music of Bach and Handel.

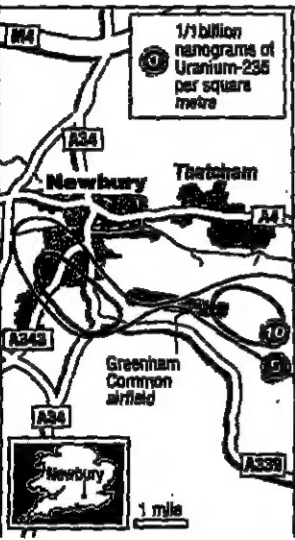
Later, in a family gathering that outdid Christmas, more men were seen dancing with their wives than in the history of Chicago, while the band played Viva Espana.

These bals populaires — 28 in Paris alone — seem to wipe out sex, class, race and age divisions in the name of republicanism, with one exception. Royalists treat July 14 as a day of mourning and I thought of a friend with an aristocratic name bewailing the fact that he was generally excluded from mass rejoicing at the Bourdon downfall.

He had been traumatised since childhood after his noble father slapped his face for whistling La Marseillaise on Bastille Day.

Hidden Greenham Common accident fuels calls for inquiry into local leukaemia cases

Nuclear air crash inquiry sought



John Mullin

MICHAEL Portillo, the Defence Secretary, is under pressure to announce an investigation into a leukaemia cluster around Greenham Common, amid allegations that a nuclear accident 38 years ago may be to blame. A classified report, leaked after 35 years, indicates that high levels of radioactivity around the nuclear airbase in Berkshire were caused when an airborne B-47 bomber suffered engine trouble and jettisoned its wing-tip fuel tanks.

The tanks were supposed to land in an emergency drop zone within the airfield. Instead, one fell behind a parked B-47 carrying a nuclear weapon, which was engulfed in flames, releasing uranium and plutonium dust.

The report, passed to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, was never disclosed to the Government's Committee on Medical Radiation in the Environment (Comre). It was asked, seven years ago, to look at cancer clusters around the nuclear airbase.

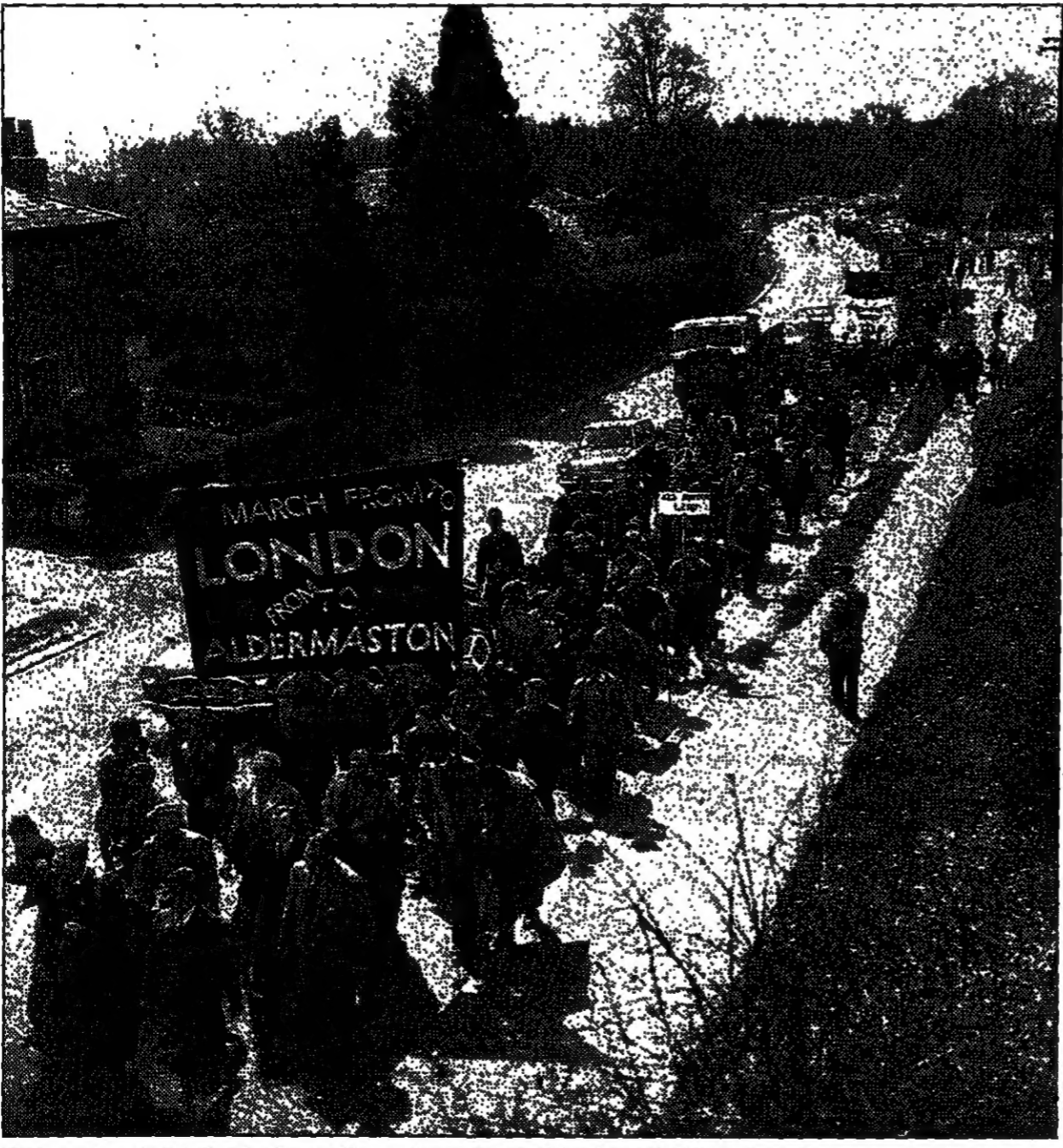
Comre concluded that there was a "small but statistically significant" increase in cancer incidence in young children in the area, home to more than 100,000 people. But it was unable to find any link with Aldermaston.

David Rendall, the Liberal Democrat MP for Newbury, said the conclusions might have been different had the secret report been available. He backed CND calls for a fresh government inquiry.

The 1962 report, commissioned for the Macmillan government, investigated concentrations of uranium 100 times higher than could be accounted for by discharges from Aldermaston. Its authors looked instead at whether a nuclear accident at Greenham, closer to the high readings, was the reason for them. There were high concentrations of uranium in an hour-glass shape, with the air base at the centre.

Bruce Kent, the vice-president of CND, which investigated the incident for a year, said yesterday: "It is wicked that people should have been deceived for so long." He called for the base, now an industrial estate, to be evacuated.

The Ministry of Defence insisted that no nuclear weapon had been involved in the accident. But people in Newbury called for the report to be made public.



CND marchers trek to London from Aldermaston unaware of the air crash at Greenham Common two years earlier



Bruce Kent CND vice-president

'There are very grave implications not only for public health but also for democracy. It is wicked that people should have been deceived for so long'

Bruce Kent CND vice-president

It emerged yesterday that there have been at least eight cases of leukaemia along a one-mile stretch of road close to the base in the last five years. Elizabeth Capewell, aged 49, whose daughter Ann, aged 16, died three years ago, believes there may be more.

Mrs Capewell said she had been puzzled about the incidence of leukaemia, which on average strikes one in 150,000 people. "It is important any investigation takes account of people who work but do not live here, and those who have moved away."

Mrs Capewell said: "The government knew there were high levels of radiation, and they could have done something about it. They did nothing. That is scandalous."

Yesterday Mrs Capewell learned of at least one new victim. Her daughter Ann's friend, Alice Bowrage, now aged 17, survived after four rounds of chemotherapy treatment. She will celebrate her second year in remission in September. Her father, Roderick Bowrage, aged 49, said: "What we do want are the facts, and what the radiation levels are and will be in the future."

Other survivors include Shane Mansford, aged seven, who underwent two years of chemotherapy, and Kevin Mills, aged 23. Uranium-235, at the centre of the scare, has a radioactive half-life of 710 million years. That means the area is permanently contaminated.

Researchers' best efforts fail to link cancer clusters to radiation

Chris Mitchell Medical Correspondent

SUSPICION about cancer clusters continues to haunt the public. But despite repeated studies in Britain and abroad, no link with radiation has been proved.

The most notorious and best studied case is the leukaemia cluster in young children in the Seascale area around the Sellafield nuclear plant in Cumbria.

No one disputes that the cluster exists, but numerous studies have concluded that it cannot be linked to radiation. The Government's advisory Committee on Medical Aspects of Radiation in the Environment published another report on the case in March this year which said discharges from the plant could not account for the cases, nor could the idea that fathers working at Sellafield had been irradiated and defects caused to their sperm passed to their children.

Many researchers think clusters are due to chance, or to an unidentified virus brought in by newcomers. Other cancer clusters have

been found around nuclear plants at Dounreay in Scotland, and Hinkley Point in Somerset, as well as around the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston, Berkshire, and the neighbouring atomic weapons factory at Burghfield.

However, clusters have also been found around oil rig construction sites, at non-nuclear power plants, in new towns around London and in Scotland, and even at spots where nuclear plants were planned but never built.

Even in areas with direct exposure to radiation or radioactive materials, the link with cancer in children has proved difficult to verify. Although there has been a rise in thyroid cancer in children affected by the 1986 Chernobyl explosion in the Ukraine, there has as yet been no reported rise in leukaemia.

Recently, concern about cancer clusters has focused on the Cornish village of Camelford, hit by a water pollution disaster eight years ago. Around 1,300 children a year develop leukaemia in the UK. The highest number of cases are in Cumbria and Cornwall.

Review

Edward Greenfield

Ted Heath at 80 Salisbury Cathedral

IT MUST be many years since Salisbury Cathedral was quite so full — its transepts crammed as well as the great nave — as it was for the 80th birthday celebration of Sir Edward Heath.

This was the musical climax of Sir Edward's birthday week, a concert in this national monument conducted by a man who, himself — in the words of the dean, the Very Rev Hugh Dickinson — is now a national monument.

The climax came in the final item, one of Heath's favourite works, the Bruckner Te Deum, massive in the scale of forces used and taut in its half-hour structure.

Overwhelming sounds from the Philharmonia chorus and English Chamber Orchestra rang round the great cathedral, all unleashed by a mere flick of the baton from this almost motionless figure in white dinner jacket. As a conductor, Heath plainly enjoys himself, but is anything but



Ted Heath: flick of baton released cathedral crescendo

demonstrative, obviously having learned much more from his friend, Herbert von Karajan than from another conductor friend, Leonard Bernstein.

Not that Heath makes things easy for himself. Quite apart from the problems of conducting the Bruckner with its sequence of sudden, surprising contrasts, his choices of soloists for Chopin's Second Piano Concerto itself presented problems, the unpredictable, ever-charismatic Ivo Pogorelich.

The last time I heard Heath conduct his soloist was the great Russian cellist, Mstislav

Rostropovic, and here again he and the players were well-prepared for any emergency. What stood out above all was the exuberance of the finale, with the pianist at his most incisive, buoyantly springing rhythms, clarifying detail in the echoing acoustic far more than seemed possible.

The opening work was another of Ted Heath's favourites, Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, and it was refreshing for once to have a conductor noting the marking *Allegro moderato* in the score refusing to let the music dawdle, holding the formal structure together.

Interrupting the standing ovation which greeted the octogenarian conductor at the end of the concert, came a final impromptu item conducted by the chorus-master, Peter Burlan — an elaborate arrangement of Happy Birthday to You, so devised that we could all join in at the climax.

Not that the concert was Ted Heath's only duty of the day. At his house in the Close, in the shadow of the cathedral, he entertained more than 100 guests before and after. Over the next week or so, there is a whole string of birthday celebrations still to come. Such is a Westminster training.

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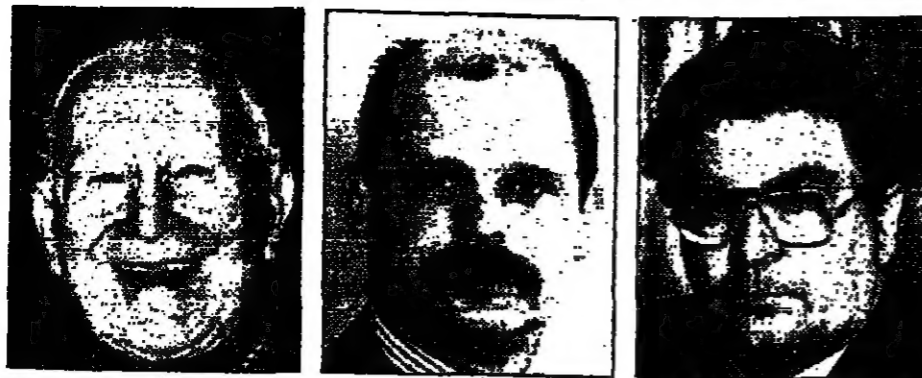
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"I now feel betrayed - betrayed by the British Government."

Cardinal Cahal Daly, Roman Catholic Primate of All Ireland

"I think we have the potential to go to hell and back."

David Ervine, Progressive Unionist Party leader

"Put into practice in a serious way what you've committed yourself to."

Advice to John Major from John Hume, leader of the SDLP

Hotel bomb galvanises peacemakers

Ruaridh Nicol

AFTER lobbying insults across the Irish sea on Friday, the British and Irish governments pulled together quickly following yesterday's blast at Enniskillen — both calling for the resumption of talks this week.

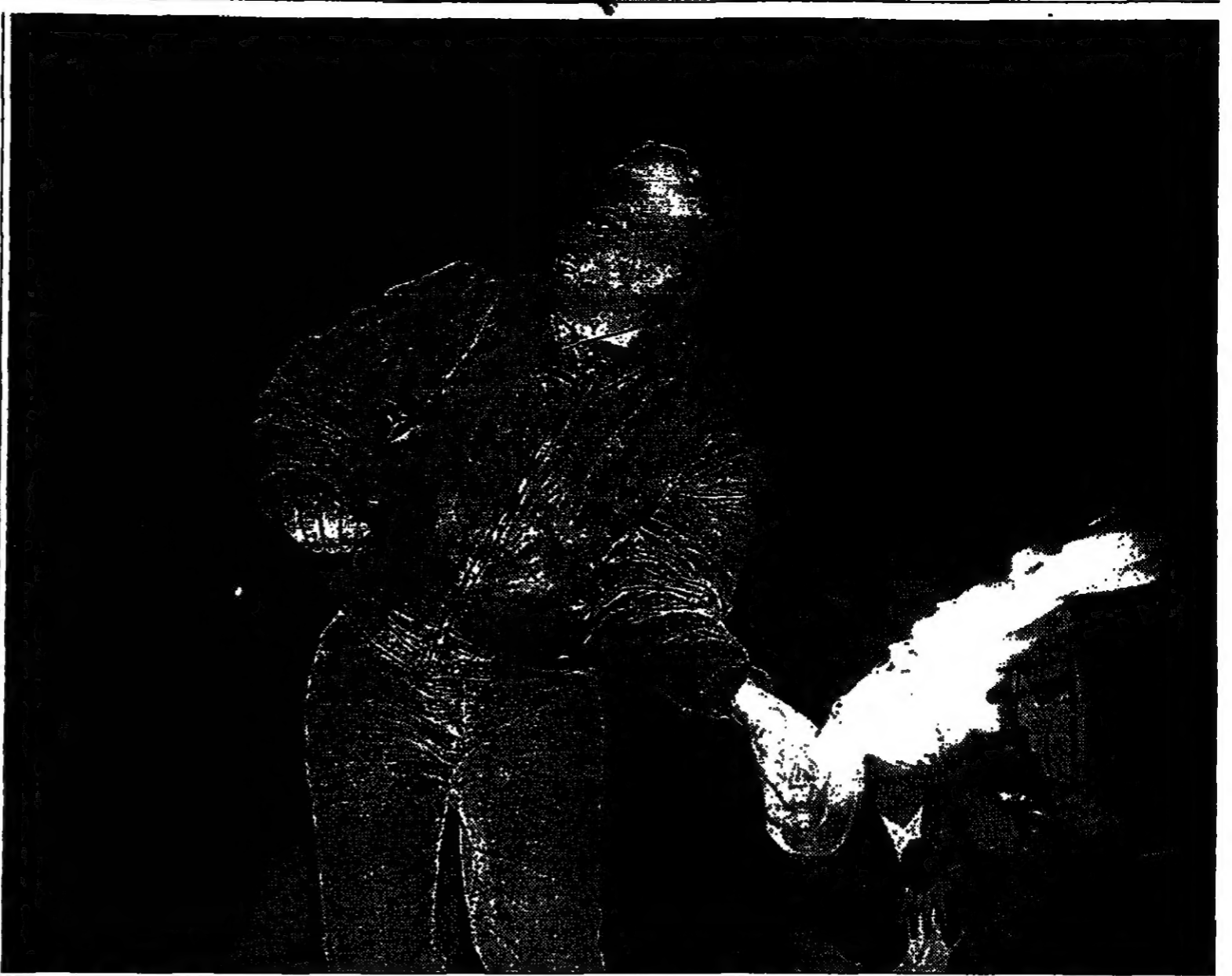
"We've got to have the talks," said Dick Spring, the Irish deputy premier. "I would be confident we can start the process during the coming week."

approach taken by the police to the parades. You can't afford to have the peace process on an à la carte basis." Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Northern Ireland Secretary, called his remarks "offensive".

The calls for calm were not restricted to the two governments. "Sinn Féin still has a peace strategy and that strategy is still centred around the reality of what is required — peace negotiations without pre-conditions," said Sinn Féin spokesman, Martin McGuinness.

the bombing, it was the stand-off between the RUC and the Orangemen — and the violence surrounding it — that had brought the situation to the brink of doom.

Mr Spring had harsh words for Unionist leaders: "When you see Mr Paisley and others saying that they are winners this week that makes me very fearful because, if we're going to sort out the problem in Northern Ireland, there can be no winners and no losers."



A petrol bomber launches another missile at an RUC station in Londonderry last night as the spiral of violence continues. PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN DAVISON

Suspicious fall on shadowy dissidents

Splinter group developed military expertise through recruiting disaffected republicans

David Sharrock, Ireland Correspondent

THE Provisional IRA's denial that it was behind yesterday's bomb attack on the exceptionally soft target of an hotel in the mixed town of Enniskillen yesterday raised the merest glimmer of hope that Northern Ireland may yet avoid a return to sectarian conflict.

Hitting an hotel full of holidaymakers and a wedding party is a trip back to the worst excesses of the Troubles, with not even a grain of "legitimate target" propaganda to explain it away.

the civil rights chaos of 1968 and the parallels between now and then are not lost on anybody.

group originally used the name Arm na Phoblachta — Army of the People — before adopting the name "Continuity Army Council of the IRA".

back to the early 1970s, were planted in Newry and Enniskillen. The group is also believed to have carried out "fund-raising" robberies in the Irish republic and has been actively seeking weapons.

Guests tell of wedding that nearly became a wake

The last dance almost became just that, writes David Sharrock in Enniskillen

THE bride and groom were taking to the ballroom floor for the last dance when the warning call came through to the front desk at 11.40pm. Martina McMannus and Thaddeus Turbett, who had earlier exchanged their vows, led their guests out of the Killyhevlin Hotel, still dressed in white wedding gowns and tails.

"At first we didn't take it seriously," Mr McGovern said. "We went over to the jeep. I looked into the back and just saw pieces of wood, and then I went round to the other side and put my head in through the open window, when I heard tick-tock sounds. I shouted to the others, 'it's a bomb'."

parade through the nationalist village of Roslea, in Co Fermanagh recently.

"I heard tick-tock sounds. I shouted to the others: it's a bomb"

A second call had been taken by a priest in Enniskillen, according to local reports. Whoever made the call claimed they were from the IRA.

The doorman, Willie Stinson, said: "We had all the guests out when somebody said there were people still inside. I went back in with a policeman and we found a woman and child. Within two minutes of getting everybody out there was a loud explosion."

There's no point asking why Enniskillen. Why anywhere?

Blast pushes loyalists back on the road to war

continued from page 1

responsibility the indications are that preparations for the attack began some time ago.

The SDLP leader, John Hume, urged the British and Irish governments to "concentrate their minds" on getting all parties to come together and "getting it through to those Orangemen on Drumreeve hills that nobody... is interested in victories — because victories don't solve our problems."

Bombs
were all
give and give

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The core of the matter may be ball-tampering — picking the seam and gouging the ball for a swing bowler to gain advantage — but this case promises much more than testimony on such arcane aerodynamic mysteries covered by Law 42 of cricket.

Frank Keating on the Imran-Botham libel battle

Sport page 13

4 BRITAIN

Poll hope for Harman as Lestor quits

Michael White and Rebecca Smithers

THE veteran leftwing MP Joan Lestor is expected to announce today that she will not be standing in next week's shadow cabinet elections.

Meanwhile, other senior Labour MPs were carrying out last-minute manoeuvres to secure their future in the last such poll before the general election.

Although Miss Lestor's decision is wholly unrelated to politics, it is likely to increase the survival chances of the party's embattled shadow health secretary, Harriet Harman.

There are six women in the 19-strong team at present. But Ms Harman, Clare Short, Majorie Mowman, Margaret Beckatt and Ann Taylor face a renewed challenge from Ann Clwyd, who yesterday declared her determination to run again — despite pressure from the leadership on runners-up to stand down and support the status quo so close to the election.

Ms Lestor's statement today is expected to explain that she is standing down on doctor's advice from her exhausting post as spokeswoman on overseas development. She feels that it needs a younger colleague to give it the attention it deserves.

A former party chairwoman, she has told close allies in her Eccles constituency, as well as Tony Blair, of her intention to end her 30-year frontbench career.

MPs this weekend were scrutinising the timetable proposed by Parliamentary Labour Party officers. When it is rubber-stamped on Wednesday, negotiations can be lodged and voting will take place one week later.

There is speculation that Labour MPs infuriated by Ms Harman's decision to send her son to a selective grammar school could oust her from the shadow cabinet, although many of her colleagues, privately and publicly, rallied to her support yesterday.

Party sources dismissed as "utter fabrication" a Sunday newspaper report suggesting that Ms Harman is to send her nine-year-old daughter to the exclusive Greycoats School in Tory-controlled Westminster. "This sounds like dirty tricks to me," said one source.

The shadow home secretary, Jack Straw, brushed aside suggestions that he might have trouble retaining his position. She said on BBC's Breakfast With Frost: "I am looking forward to being re-elected. These stories appear every year. They are the normal fluff of pre-election speculation."

Asked if he would urge colleagues to vote for Ms Harman, he said: "That's a matter for them, but I have always voted myself for Harriet — I think she's very effective as a shadow health secretary — and I shall be doing so again."

Another report suggested that the shadow foreign secretary, Robin Cook, faces demotion to a minor spending department in Mr Blair's first cabinet. This was "malicious invention" said Blair aides.

Yesterday health spokesman Henry McLeish confirmed that he and two other prominent frontbenchers — and fellow Scots — will not be standing in the shadow cabinet poll. He, Brian Wilson — who runs Labour's "rebuttal unit" — and City spokesman Alastair Darling were all unsuccessful last year.

Others such as foreign affairs spokesman Tony Lloyd and Derek Fatchett are also expected not to run.

Labour plans 'hit squad' to root out tax avoidance

Rebecca Smithers Political Correspondent

LABOUR has drawn up plans to create a "tax avoidance" hit squad to target big companies which avoid billions in tax every year via legal loopholes.

The team of up to 25 highly-paid civil servants would be a dedicated unit within the Treasury, and a Labour administration would hope to recruit many of them from accountancy firms where they work against, rather than for, the Government.

Gordon Brown, the shadow chancellor, pointed out yesterday that in the 1994/95 tax year, there were more than 3,000 under-declarations of VAT totalling £2.8 billion. "Ordinary people have to pay VAT so why should big companies be allowed to get away with not paying it?" he said.

He pointed out that as non-compliance has soared, the Inland Revenue is cut the number of staff employed to "detect and tackle non-compliance" from 7,850 budgeted in 1995/96, to 7,500 in 97/98.

In a separate crackdown on housing benefit fraud, Chris Smith, shadow social security secretary, will today publish findings showing that the Government's plans to introduce compulsory competitive tendering into local authority housing benefit fraud investigation will increase fraud.

But Labour's "elder stateswoman" and former minister Baroness Castle will tomorrow launch a fresh backlash on new Labour with the publication of a pamphlet strongly critical of the party's pensions policy — drawn up by Mr Smith.

The pamphlet, We Can Afford The Welfare State, has the tacit support of unions and will be distributed to all constituency Labour parties with a view to triggering critical motions ahead of the party conference.

Midland Bank NOTICE TO CARDHOLDERS

Midland Bank plc announces the following reduction in its Gold Visa interest rate. EFFECTIVE FROM (and including) 22 JULY 1996

Table with 3 columns: Monthly Interest Rate, Purchases (fee exc.), Cash (fee exc.). Rows for APR 1.1% (from 1.3%), 14.8%, 15.7% and APR 1.1% (from 1.3%), 15.3%, 17.1%.

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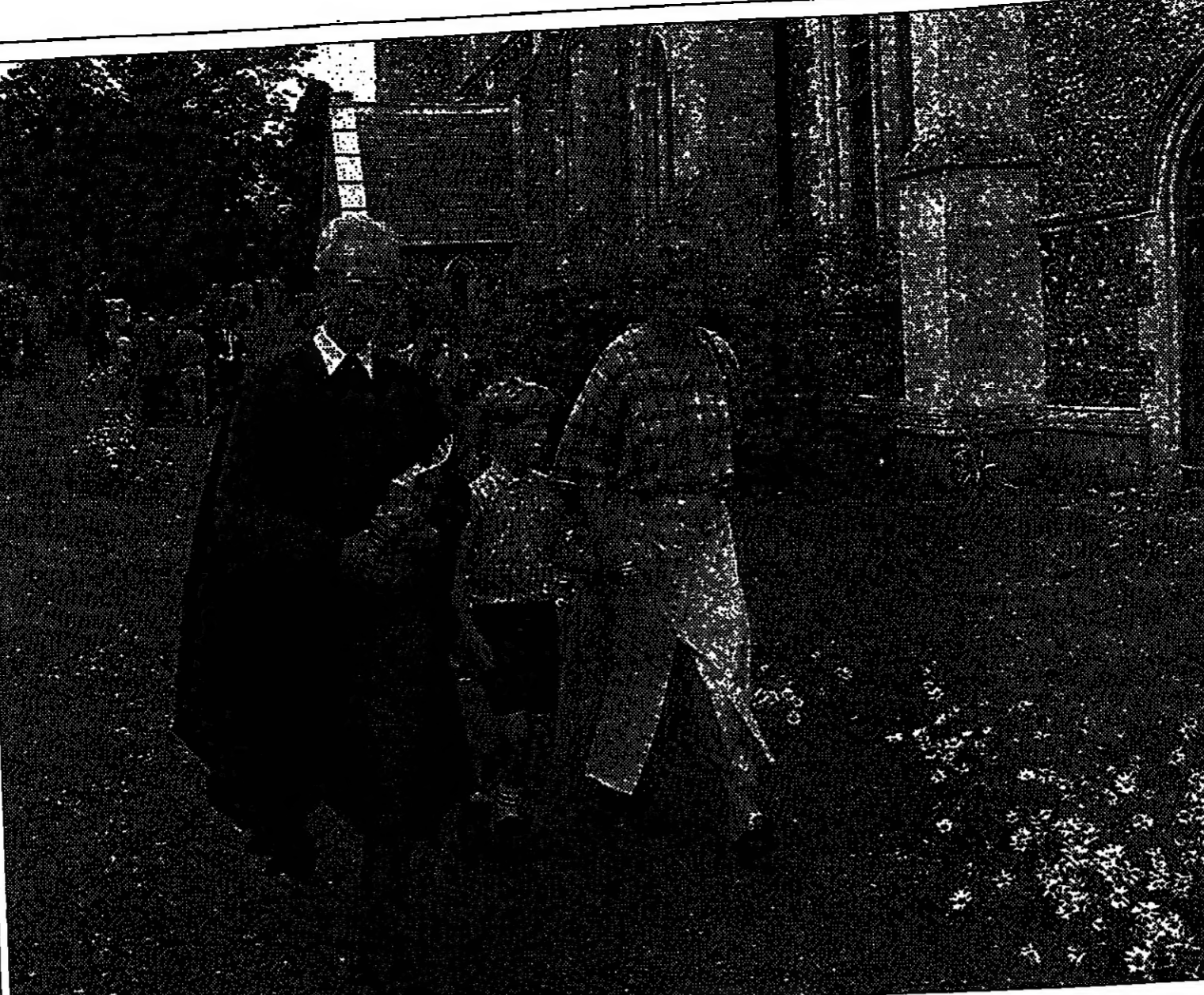
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Martin Baker, a friend of Megan and Josephine Russell, attends the service with his mother Liz and the Rev Pat Goodsell

Village grieves over killings

Helen Nowicka

A COMMUNITY was brought together in grief yesterday as prayers were offered for Lin and Megan Russell at their church. Members of the congregation placed flowers on the altar at Holy Cross church, Goodnestone, Kent, during the service in which the Reverend Pat Goodsell described the murder of the mother and daughter as evil.

Mrs Russell, aged 45, and Megan, six, were bludgeoned to death on Tuesday afternoon in woods near their home at Nonington, near Canterbury. Mrs Russell's older daughter, Josephine, nine, suffered head injuries and was left for dead. Doctors say she will be brain-damaged.

In his sermon, Mr Goodsell spoke of the disbelief that such a crime had taken place in the area. "There is anger; there is sadness; there is hurt and pain. There is sheer incomprehension that anyone could be so cruel, so evil, as to do such a thing."

Jo Passmore, chairwoman of the parish council, said: "There is an awful feeling in the village. We are a close community who stand in the middle of the road and talk to each other. Now we are all afraid."

Princess cries in dark as menacing paparazzi close in

Hounded by tabloid press, Diana pleads for understanding, Stuart Millar reports

IT WAS a bumper weekend for the Princess of Wales's mascara suppliers. Pursued by menacing packs of paparazzi, a distressed Diana yesterday appealed for understanding from the media after sobbing, weeping and crying her way around London.

Friends of the princess, whose divorce from Prince Charles could be finalised within six weeks, insist she is merely relieved that this stage of her life is over.

But according to tabloid reports, the princess was reduced to tears on several occasions this weekend as she struggled to come to terms with the prospect of surviving on her £15 million divorce settlement.

The "sobathon" began on Friday afternoon, just after Buckingham Palace announced terms of the settlement. The princess, visiting her close friend Lucia Fiecha de Lima in her London hotel suite, "could be heard clearly weeping out loud", the News of the World reported.

By Saturday morning, members of the public pressed her distress for themselves as the princess sobbed while running in Kensington Gardens. The News of the World even had her panicking to "wail out uncontrolably: 'Why?'"

A passer-by was quoted by the paper: "She appeared at the end of her tether, as if she'd been crying all night." Another said: "She was jogging fees as Diana drove to her friend Jimima Khan in Richmond, the make-up slipped once again. Harassed by two photographers on motorbikes, she broke down in tears."

The incident prompted her office to issue a statement yesterday, calling for understanding for her and her sons. It said: "The fact that the Princess of Wales was persistently followed by seven press motorbikes and two press motor cars this morning is the reason for the distressing photographs which are now being published."

But the princess appears to be no stranger to eccentric behaviour. According to the News of the World, she can be found in Hyde Park every night, weeping into her mobile phone.



Stuart Millar

'The fact that the Princess of Wales was persistently followed by seven press motorbikes and two press motor cars this morning is the reason for the distressing photographs which are now being published'

Tracks of her tears

Sightings of a tearful Princess Diana



Kensington Palace

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Di's revenge, Media Guardian, G2 page 8

Ratings war 'mars TV quality'

SENIOR Tory MP yesterday accused television broadcasters of encouraging a disregard for decent standards by their constant battle to increase ratings, writes Stuart Millar.

Sir Patrick Cormack, MP for Staffordshire South, singled out the hit BBC comedy Men Behaving Badly, which he said was "repeated complaints about the programme which holds up loutish behaviour almost as something to be merited."

The attack came as Sir Patrick and other backbench MPs launched a crusade to reduce violence and unsocial behaviour on television. They have tabled a Commons motion calling on BBC government to increase ratings, writes Stuart Millar.

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Many workers feel trapped and frustrated because they are stuck in a vicious circle. They can't get a top job unless they have the best qualifications. They want to improve their job prospects but can't afford to — it's money not motivation that bars the way.

What is more employers want qualified people. Career Development Loans (CDLs) try to solve this dilemma by allowing you to get trained without having to pay until you've finished your course. CDLs were launched in 1988 and 78,800 have now been approved. It is expected that record number of applications for loans will be taken out this year.

The CDL scheme is operated by Barclays, the Co-operative, Clydesdale and The Royal Bank of Scotland. Once your CDL is agreed then you do not have to pay any of your loan

back until one month after your studies end. A loan can be between £200 and £8,000 and will pay up to 80% of your course fees. Repayments are fixed even if interest rates go up. During the study period, which can last up to two years the Government will pay the interest on the loan. After this period you have up to five years to repay it.

You don't have to be unemployed to qualify for a Career Development Loan. As long as you are over 18, you can apply for a loan to finance yourself through a wide range of vocational courses whether they be full-time, part-time or distance learning.

Mr Farrow feels he has benefited from a CDL. He used to be a psychiatric ward manager but felt frustrated. "I seemed to be pushing against a glass ceiling, probably a feeling shared by many people in large organisations". At 26 he took out an £800 Career Development Loan. He successfully completed the 2 year part-time course and secured a place on the NHS general management training programme. He now works at a NHS hospital trust as an assistant hospital manager and is just about to turn his diploma into a BSC degree. He plans to start an MSc in hospital management later this year.

He now pays back £40 a month and "There was no way I could afford to pay fees myself so the loan has proved a worthwhile investment which has opened a range of new opportunities."

A pilot scheme was launched by the Department for Education and Employment in the South West of Britain and South Wales to give CDLs wider appeal. This allows for a longer repayment holiday of up to 18 months after your course has finished. If you have been out of work for 3 months you may be able to borrow 100% of your course fees. The course is full time you may be eligible to get a loan to cover your living expenses.

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With a Government-endorsed Career Development Loan you can borrow up to £8,000 for a course that lasts up to two years (or from September, three year courses that include work experience), and you don't pay anything back until you've finished your training. For an information pack please call 0800 585 505, or send the coupon to Career Development Loans, Freepost, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE5 1BB.

Department for Education and Employment

Form (CDL/1/95/1/96)

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July 15 1996

The Guardian Monday July 15 1996

News in brief

Studies disagree on carers' sacrifices

TWO surveys of the sacrifice of carers show glaring disparities. Days after Stephen Dorrell, the Health Secretary, warned that family, friends and volunteers would have to bear much of the burden of looking after the growing numbers of elderly people. One survey, published today, suggests two in three carers spend more than 100 hours a week looking after a relative or friend, and that those in work lose an average £5,625 a year in earnings because of their caring commitments. But a government study says eight in 10 carers spend less than 35 hours a week looking after an elderly, sick or disabled adult or child. Today's survey is by Caring Costs, a consortium of 44 voluntary groups, and is based on a sample of 1,042 carers who completed a questionnaire distributed by the groups. Caring Costs says more carers will fall into poverty in later life as people are expected to rely increasingly on pensions available only to those in paid work. — David Brindle

Blow to evidence immunity

THE Court of Appeal has dealt a blow to the right of police and prosecution to invoke public interest immunity to conceal key evidence from defence lawyers. Lord Justice Leggatt, Mr Justice Roulger and Mr Justice Hooper ruled that a judge in a drugs trial should have ordered two men, said by the defendant to be an undercover officer and an informer, to be called as prosecution witnesses. The ruling, described by criminal lawyers as "a major decision", was delivered last Friday, but received no publicity. The defendant, Rudolf Yirtel, was convicted at Snaresbrook crown court a year ago of possessing heroin with intent to supply and jailed for 14 years. His defence was that he thought he was helping the South East Regional Crime Squad to catch drug dealers when he handed over three grams of heroin to police posing as dealers. He claimed the two men — a police officer and an informer — were present and could back up his story. The Appeal Court judges ordered a retrial. — Clare Dyer

Appeal over Jade killing

AMOBILE police station was set up yesterday close to the railway line where Jade Matthews, aged nine, was found battered to death eight days ago. Detectives were hoping to jog the memory of anyone who was in that area of Boodle, Mansfield, at the time. Jade, of Boodle, was killed after disappearing from outside her home while she was playing with friends at tea-time last Sunday. Police have three sightings of her making her way just over a mile to the murder scene with a boy aged about 13 on a mountain bike.

Call for swift action

CONSERVATIONISTS have launched a campaign to save swifts, the insect-eating birds which visit Europe in summer, which they fear are endangered by modern building methods. Modern architecture makes it harder for swifts to enter the roof spaces of buildings to nest. The campaign, backed by the British Trust for Ornithology and Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, is focused on making buildings "swift-friendly".

Aids fear after syringe attack

POLICE in Edinburgh are hunting a man who stabbed a teenager in the face with a blood-filled syringe after telling her he suffered from Aids. The attack took place after an argument broke out between the 15-year-old girl, who was with a friend, and the man in Hunter Square, off the Royal Mile, on Friday. Police are looking for a well-built man aged 25 to 30, with a Mohican haircut. — Stuart Miller

Twelve share £21.9m jackpot

TWELVE winners shared Saturday's £21.9 million National Lottery rollover jackpot. Each receives £1.8 million while 41 others, who matched five numbers plus the bonus ball, won £80,000. Winning numbers were 11, 5, 42, 41, 10 and 12; the bonus 2.

Priest defiant over sign of offence

Madeleine Bunting on priestess row

THE Church of England is considering taking legal action against a recalcitrant opponent of women priests in Hull who refuses to take down a church sign which says "This Anglican parish has no part in the apostasy of priestesses". Two Hull councillors have called on the Archbishop of York to intervene, saying that residents have complained that the notice is offensive to women. The sign, which overlooks a busy junction in the centre of the town, has been repeatedly vandalised since it was erected three years ago. Francis Bown, 48, priest for St Stephen's congregation of a dozen, is adamant the sign will remain. "We're up against women priest supporters, militant feminists and politically correct councillors," he said. The fracas comes as the General Synod gathered in York for its biannual meeting. A private member's motion calling for women bishops narrowly missed being tabled at synod. "The board has caused a great deal of offence to women priests. Jibes about priestesses are more than they can take," said the Archdeacon of East Riding, the Venerable Hugh Buckingham. But the Archdeacon's requests to Fr Bown to take the sign down have met with no success. The next stage will be to take the matter to the diocesan chancellor who handles such matters of ecclesiastical law. A top adviser of the Archbishop of Canterbury has described the royal divorce and the Prince of Wales's infidelity as an embarrassment to the Church of England. Elaine Storkey, theological adviser to George Carey and a member of the General Synod, said on GMTV's Sunday programme that there would be "clearly something very wrong" in having as head of the Church a divorced monarch who had been having a relationship outside of his marriage for some years.



Fr Bown: 'Up against feminists and politically correct councillors' PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID BARR

Teacher colleges 'facing witch-hunt'

Donald MacLeod Education Correspondent

INSPECTION of teacher training colleges is becoming a witch-hunt, the head of a leading training institution said yesterday. Peter Mortimore, head of London University's Institute of Education, said it had been working with the Govern-

ment to achieve high standards, "but there is a danger of focusing always on negatives and not on positives." "I would have thought a good result for the institute, along with a number of other teacher-training institutions, is a cause for celebration, not for a witch-hunt." The Office for Standards in Education, which has just completed a £1 million pro-

gramme of inspecting primary teacher training in which only five institutions out of 67 were found to be unsatisfactory, is preparing to reinspect a cross-section of colleges, looking more closely at training in basic reading and number work. Mr Mortimore, whose institute has just been inspected, said he would take legal advice about refusing to co-oper-

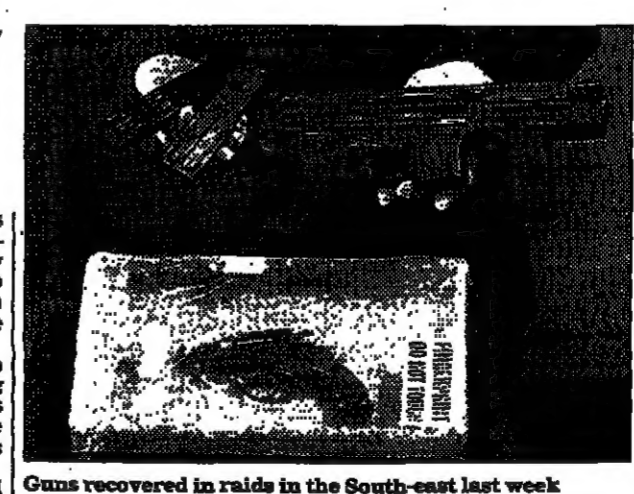
ate with Ofsted if it decided to reinspect. An Ofsted spokesman said the institute's reaction was premature, since it had not been decided which colleges would be revisited, and the second inspections would be of a different nature to the first. In evidence to the Commons select committee on education, the Secondary

Heads' Association called for a general teaching council to regulate the profession in England and Wales — as in Scotland. John Sutton, the association's general secretary, said there was "no prospect of long-term success for our education system unless we can restore the profession to its proper place in public esteem".

Massacre revives anti-gun group

Dunblane gave new impetus to a failed crusade, writes Duncan Campbell

TWO-and-a-half years ago Gill Marshall-Andrews, increasingly bothered by what seemed to be a growing gun culture in Britain, started to do some research on firearms. She felt there was no organisation campaigning against guns in this country, and perhaps the only way to fill the gap was to start one herself. What she discovered from Home Office statistics and her conversations with senior police officers was that there was indeed a growing problem; that guns were being used more in crimes and that, despite restrictions on their ownership, many highly unstable people were still able to acquire them. Mrs Marshall-Andrews decided to start a group, Open Arms, which would provide information and research and act as a resource centre for people seeking to tighten the gun laws. But she could not



Guns recovered in raids in the South-east last week

recruit enough people and the planned launch never happened. Then came Dunblane. Suddenly there was a new urgency to the campaign. People she had contacted before got back in touch, anxious to help. "There was no organisation involved after Hungerford, and as a result the various changes proposed got watered down," she says. "People forgot." Tomorrow's launch of the Gun Control Network at the House of Commons is

aimed to ensure that people do not forget again. The other members of the group bring their individual experiences, through which they hope to convince public and politicians that action has to be taken. Among the members are Tony and Judith Hill, parents of one of the Hungerford victims; Sandra Hill; Mick North, whose daughter, Sophie, was killed at Dunblane; and Ian Tay, professor of Sociology at Salford University. The group's greatest achieve-

ment, Mrs Marshall-Andrews says, would be to wind itself up after accomplishing its aims. The first aim, now shared with the Police Federation and a growing number of politicians, is the banning of handguns. "We would also like to ban the sale of guns by mail order," she says. "At the moment, you can order them from a gun magazine and they arrive by Datapost." The group would extend certification from shotguns to airguns, and would ban the sale of replica and de-activated guns. The mood for change is very strong, she believes, with 750,000 signing the Snowdrop Petition after Dunblane calling for a handgun ban. Mrs Marshall-Andrews, a former probation officer and teacher, said: "We are not seeking a total ban. We believe what we are seeking is reasonable and achievable." Jack Straw, Labour's home affairs spokesman, has reaffirmed his party's plans to step up controls on firearms, but has said he does not want to put a figure on the number of guns that would be taken out of circulation.

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Not even Keanu Reeves's best friends think his rock group, Dogstar, is much good, but that hasn't hindered it.

Adam Sweeting.

G2 profile

page 10

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6 WORLD NEWS

Right wing puts pressure on Israel's coalition

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu returned home last night from a United States tour to face new challenges from his own right wing.

In Jerusalem, ultra-Orthodox Jews are threatening to withdraw support from his government unless they get their way on sabbath observance.

Other rightwingers are calling for an expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

For Mr Netanyahu, who has declined to pin himself down on policies since he took office last month, both issues are potentially explosive.

His coalition is heavily dependent on ultra-Orthodox factions, and several of his ministers believe in settlement expansion as a means of maintaining Israel's grip on the occupied territories.

But support for either cause will exacerbate rifts in Israeli society. Many secular Israelis bitterly resent the rising influence of the religious minority, while liberals are against the notion of further colonisation of the occupied lands.

Mr Netanyahu's homecoming is a return to harsh reality for a prime minister with a slender majority and a host of pressing decisions to make.

His policies could be badly diverted by the latest eruption of religious-secular rivalry in Jerusalem, where the rapidly growing ultra-Orthodox minority — now almost a quarter of the population — has tried to close a main road during the Jewish sabbath.

Bar-Ilan Road and its extension, Yirmehayu, cut through districts where the ultra-Orthodox are now in a majority, and has been the frequent setting for confrontations between secular drivers and stone-throwing locals.

While the prime minister was in the US, the transport minister, Yitzhak Levy — an Orthodox Jew — ordered the closure of both roads during sabbath worship.

On Friday, the High Court overturned the order and said the government should show within 15 days why the roads should not remain open.

But on Saturday night ugly clashes broke out when hard-core Jews (the black-garbed ultra-Orthodox) turned out in their thousands to try to block the road. There was a confrontation with left-wing demonstrators and police.

The violence continued until after midnight, as police battled hordes of religious fundamentalists with water-cannon and batons. Two police officers were recognised and beaten up by the mob.

Yesterday a Knesset member, Avraham Ravitz, said that his party, United Torah Judaism, would vote against the government unless the Jerusalem police chief and other senior officers were dismissed.

"They conducted a pogrom against Jews," he said. "They beat women, they beat children, they went into houses."

Haredi activists warned that next Saturday tens of thousands of religious protesters would converge on the disputed road.

Meanwhile leaders of the Jewish settlers are calling for new colonies and the rapid expansion of the 140 or more existing ones. Up to 14,000 Jews live among the two million or so Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza.

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Dole fights above his weight

As Bill Clinton prepares to bask in reflected Olympic glory, Martin Walker and Jonathan Freedland in Washington examine the faltering campaign of his Republican challenger

IF THIS were a boxing match, the referee would have stopped it by now. According to the latest opinion polls, Bill Clinton, winning everything but the prairie states and Alaska, will sweep back to the White House for a second term this November while the Democrats recapture the House and Senate.

The polls rounded off Bob Dole's week from hell, but with less than a month to go before the Republican Party's presidential nominating convention in San Diego, most of it was the challenger's own fault. Mr Dole offended his friends and insulted his allies, as if he had votes to spare.

He dug his hole deeper on each television appearance: a stubborn and grumpy old man whose wife picked gently at his sleeve and tried to change the subject.

He told the anti-abortionist wing of his party that he would pick a pro-abortionist vice-president if he wanted to. So there. Then he stunned the gun lobby by dropping his promise to overturn the Clinton ban on assault rifles. So much for his friends.

Then he told the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the grand and respectable old vehicle of the civil rights movement, that he would not come to their annual conference because they were all liberals who were trying "to set me up". So much for his enemies.

But the NAACP has friends of its own, such as the retired general Colin Powell, whom Mr Dole still hopes will answer the party's call and run as his vice-president.

Gen Powell was infuriated by Mr Dole's rejection of the NAACP. He declared last week that he would not join Mr Dole's ticket. He would not give a keynote speech at the Republican Party convention. And he would not even promise to campaign for Mr Dole in the autumn.



Even loyal Republicans are saying Bob Dole's campaign is the most feeble they have seen

Even the most loyal of Republicans, and members of Mr Dole's own policy advisory board, are saying this is the most feeble presidential campaign they have seen. Worse than George McGovern's defeat by Richard Nixon in 1972, worse even than the Lyndon Johnson landslide win in 1964 over Barry Goldwater.

William Buckley, the intellectual godfather of modern American conservatism, noted that Goldwater's sacrifice at least paved the way for a conservative revival, and McGovern's trouncing opened the way for his left-wing allies to take over the party for a decade.

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But Mr Dole's biggest problem may be not his own weakness so much as his opponent's strength. Bill Clinton has so dramatically turned around his fortunes since the nadir of November 1994, when the Democrats were drummed out of the House and Senate in the mid-term elections, that he is now the strongest incumbent since Ronald Reagan beat Walter Mondale in 1984.

He can boast an economic record that puts Europe and Japan to shame. In 1992 he promised to create 8 million jobs; this week's total was 10 million and rising. Inflation is under control, and the economy is predicted to keep growing, at least until November.

With prosperity comes peace — at least for Americans. There are no American dead in Haiti and Bosnia, and the country's television screens, and while riots in Ulster and a Likudnik in Jerusalem alarm the foreign policy crowd they are not the stuff of election campaigns.

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The elderly like Mr Clinton's defence of Medicare, the health insurance system for pensioners. Women so favour him that the so-called gender gap has become a chasm: the last Harris poll found the president 31 points ahead among women who like his defence of abortion rights and his emphasis on children.

Blue-collar white men, especially in the South, remain hostile to Mr Clinton, homosexuals are disenchanted by the way he changed his mind about gays in the military, and Roman Catholics are angry about his vetoing a bill to ban a particularly unpleasant form of late-term abortion. But, with the backing of organised labour and liberals and left-wingers with the prospect of a Dole-Gingrich partnership in Pennsylvania's venue, Mr Clinton has reassembled key parts of the old Democratic coalition lost apart by Ronald Reagan.

The evidence is in the machine-like discipline of today's Democrats. Since its 1994 drubbing, the party has not engaged in the fratricide of most opposition; rather it has united to fight the Republican enemy. The absence of backbench rebellions in Congress — and the lack of a primary challenger to Mr Clinton — are the proof.

Mr Dole, the uncharismatic leader of a bitterly-divided party, faces the best campaign in United States politics, uniquely able to boast youth and experience. So Mr Dole needs a miracle. He did not get one in Moscow. He can no longer count on Gen Powell for a charisma transplant. A Romanian blood-bath or a Wall Street crash might do the trick, but Mr Dole cannot be seen campaigning for either.

The longed-for October surprise of His n' Hers criminal indictments from the Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth Starr has deflated since Mr Starr told the New Yorker he would exercise judicial "restraint", at least until the election.

And Mr Dole is running out of time. There are just five days left before the Olympic Games freeze that awesome Clinton lead into place as Americans switch to politics and look to Atlanta, where Mr Clinton will bestow presidential backslaps on glowing young US athletes bearing fistfuls of gold medals.

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Former envoy says Britain made 'fatal error' on Europe

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

BRITAIN'S failure to be at the heart of Europe is "a far more fatal error than Suez", according to Sir Robin Roxburgh, the recently retired British ambassador to Washington, whose new memoir is likely to be seized on as an implicit attack on the European policies of John Major and Margaret Thatcher.

In Fighting Among Allies — America and England at Peace and War, Sir Robin argues that Britain needs to have a more modest view of the so-called special relationship with the United States, which he describes as "an especially close relationship" that is not unique.

He targets those Euro-sceptic Thatcherites who suggest Britain can side with Washington instead of Brussels, claiming that Britain will not enjoy the privileged position within the EU if it remains on the margins of Europe. His statement confirms the suspicion that Bonn has become more important to the US administration than London.

Sir Robin complains that France and Germany make all the key decisions about Europe, Spain and Italy exercise a moderating role, and Britain is on the sidelines, fearing the action. The former envoy — who also served in South Africa and was said to be a favourite of Baroness Thatcher — argues that Britain has to ditch its divide-and-rule approach to Europe, playing France and Germany off each other.

"The Franco-German relationship will continue to be more important to both countries than the relationship with Britain is to either of them," he writes. The memoir traces the root of the problem to Britain's failure to sign the Treaty of Rome in 1957, citing it as a strategic disaster greater than the ill-fated Suez invasion a year earlier. But it is clear that Sir Robin is equally unhappy with the current government's handling of Europe, which has allowed the EU to develop as a "continental system".

News in brief

Moscow alert for Gore visit

Russian security forces were on high alert yesterday after last week's bombings as US Vice-President Al Gore began an official visit. Today Mr Gore is due to meet President Boris Yeltsin, the first Western leader to do so since the Kremlin chief was re-elected for a second four-year term on July 3. — Reuters.

Tamil killings
Tamil Tiger rebels hit a security forces' bunker in the Jaffna peninsula, northern Sri Lanka, yesterday, killing 13 soldiers and losing many of their own, the defence ministry said. — Reuters.

Charles in Brunei
Michael Jackson and Prince Charles are in Brunei for the birthday celebrations of Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah today, officials said. — Reuters.

Mugabe to wed
President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe plans a church wedding next month to his former secretary Grace Masuku, the state-controlled Sunday Mail reports. They are already married under African traditional law. — AP.

Peck 'stable'
The film star Gregory Peck, aged 80, was in a stable condition yesterday after emergency surgery in Karlovy Vary for a suspected intestinal ailment, shortly after receiving a Czech movie award, the Czech news agency CTK reported. — Reuters.

£1.5m gems theft
Two suitcases filled with 3 million marks (£1.5 million) worth of jewels were stolen from the back seat of a car in Frankfurt while their owner was changing a tyre. — AP.

Corsica pledge
President Jacques Chirac, promising to eradicate what he called Mafia-style gangs in Corsica, said yesterday that the government would disarm gunmen defying the law on the island. — Reuters.

Cinemas shut
The Afghanistan interim cabinet of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar closed cinemas and banned music on state television and radio yesterday, but the action was criticised by the government's top military commander, Ahmad Shah Masood. — Reuters.

Desperately seeking a second string

BOB DOLE understands his central problem: if a star is not able to perform, the show needs a crowd-pulling understudy. That explains why Mr Dole is still agonising over his choice of running mate, his chief adviser admits will be the most important of his presidential campaign.

The pressure on him is intense, because he must choose a partner who not only does no harm — the usual rule in selecting a vice-presidential candidate — but can also compensate for some of the candidate's own serious deficiencies.

First, Mr Dole badly needs to infuse some excitement into his campaign. That requires a running mate with charisma and television charm, both qualities the candidate himself lacks.

Second, at the age of 73 — and seeking to be the oldest two-term president ever — he needs a number two who is a plausible number one. No one says it that bluntly, but when the candidate is so old, the succession matters.

The one man who passes both tests is Colin Powell — the retired general who would deliver a sizeable chunk of America's black votes too. But Gen Powell has repeatedly said he does not want the job.

Another leading candidate is New Jersey's governor, Christine Todd Whitman. Nominate the bright, attractive Ms Whitman would lift Mr Dole's stagnant campaign, and cut

inroads into Bill Clinton's lead among women voters. But like Gen Powell, she has said she would decline the job, suggesting she believes she might sink with Mr Dole.

Ms Whitman's drawbacks are her support for abortion rights and her relative inexperience. The latter caveat applies to the two other women being considered: the Texas senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, and the former labour secretary Lynn Martin.

So a shortlist of "grey-hairs" has emerged, consisting of veteran politicians who would not undermine Mr Dole's credibility.

Mr Dole's favourite is said to be Richard Cheney, the defence secretary during the Gulf war. But he has had three heart attacks — hardly a comfort to voters worried about a frail commander-in-chief.

Other safe pairs of hands fall the charisma test. More lively are Pennsylvania's governor, Tom Ridge, and the former South Carolina governor Carroll Campbell.

Mr Ridge would deliver a key state but his pro-abortion rights views make him a risk. Mr Campbell, though energetic, is tarred by his current lobbying job for the insurance industry.

So Mr Dole must keep on searching, aware that his biggest problem is not the name at the bottom of the ticket but the one at the top.

Jonathan Freedland

THE week's final days of phase one of the 1996 presidential campaign. If Bob Dole cannot close the gap on Bill Clinton by Friday, he faces two weeks of media neglect as the country tunes to the Olympics. By the end of the games, he will have just three months to turn things around — a feat no challenger has managed when an incumbent is so far ahead.

August 11: Mr Dole will be forced to share the spotlight on the eve of the Republican Convention in San Diego. Ross Perot's Reform Party gathers 100 miles away in Long Beach, California — precisely the spoiler event the Dallas billionaire hoped for.

August 12-18: The convention is meant to be a flag-waving, balloon-dropping coronation. But it could turn into a

1980s Labour Party conference: civil war, walkouts, fratricidal bloodletting. Anti-abortion delegates threaten disruption if the running mate is not to their liking.

September: Mr Dole travels the country, trying to reassure women, blacks and the elderly — all worried by the Republicans' slash-and-burn recent past. He will have to implement Richard Nixon's deathbed advice: run from the centre, without alienating the party's base.

October: The month of dread, as he competes in television debates with Bill Clinton. Three showdowns will make aides sweat: their man could look stiff and old next to the telegenic president.

November 5: D-Day — and it will all be over.

Jonathan Freedland

Media With specialist news, profiles and the latest developments Read the Media pages Every Monday in The Guardian

Billionaires cream off Latin America's wealth

Phil Gunson reports on the widening gap between rich and poor as market forces dictate unequal income distribution

CARLOS SLIM is the richest man in Latin America. "Like," he is reported to have told researchers from Forbes magazine trying to assess his personal wealth. Forbes put him down for \$6.1 billion (\$4 billion), \$2.1 billion more than a year ago, but still \$500 million less than before the Mexican peso collapsed in December 1994.

Buy a car tyre, make a telephone call or eat a chicken restaurant chain and you help Mr Slim keep his number one position on one of the world's most exclusive lists. There are 35 dollar-billionaires in Latin America, according to Forbes, of whom 15 are Mexicans.

A country in which, according to United Nations figures, half the population cannot afford an adequate daily calorie intake ranks fifth in the world by number of billionaires — behind the United States, Germany, Japan and Hong Kong.

In Brazil, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso admits that his country has probably the worst income distribution in the world, but insists his government is trying to tackle the problem.

The sociologist Herbert de Souza, a government adviser whose programmes to reduce hunger earned him a Nobel prize nomination, disagreed. He resigned from the government in May.

In 1980, the poorest 50 per cent of Brazilians accounted for 17.7 per cent of national income. By 1990, their income had fallen to 10.1 per cent of the total. Brazil's current tally of billionaires is 10.

The World Bank says that, in most Latin American countries for which comparative figures exist, income distribution deteriorated in the 1980s.

There is every indication that the trend has continued, especially in countries which embraced privatisation and deregulation after the so-called "lost decade" of the 1980s.

Between 1990 and 1995, Latin American governments divested themselves of 845 state companies. Mexico privatised 221.

As the political scientist Jorge Castañeda points out, since almost all privatisations were effected by sales to existing private sector conglomerates, there is little doubt that they further concentrated assets in nations where small numbers already controlled huge chunks of the national patrimony.

In 1991, Mexico had two dollar-billionaires on the Forbes list. By 1994, the figure had risen to 24, as a direct result of privatisation.

Doubts about the competitiveness of the process were drowned out at the time by local and international applause for Mr Salinas's bold reform programme. But they are now resurfacing.

Some of Mexico's most prominent businessmen have been questioned recently by the attorney-general's office and the press about suspicious financial transfers at the time of privatisation, involving Mr Salinas's brother Raúl, who is awaiting trial on charges of murder and illicit enrichment.

But 85 million Latin Americans survive on less than a dollar a day, and if income distribution is to be left to market forces, everything indicates that their numbers can only increase.

The big question is, how long will it be before the democracies elect regimes that redistribute measures? If the free-marketsters persist with their policies, we may find the answer soon.

The Guardian Monday July 15 1996

Germany of ravers Love Par money-s

Belarus n the pad o

The Spanish feminist revolution posters young women rifles slung o were for rect



Germany's family of ravers turn Love Parade into money-spinner

Denis Staunton in Berlin

AFTER four hours of flexing his muscles to the techno beat aboard one of the Love Parade's 40 throbbing loud-speaker trucks, the go-go dancer was getting desperate.

Wearing nothing but a tiny pair of black shorts, hiking boots and dark glasses, he pleaded with the

crowd below to pass him up a drink. A few tried to throw him cans of cola or beer and others attempted to clamber aboard the truck — but nothing reached him.

Then a skinhead pointed a giant water pistol into the air and a jet of water shot upwards, falling in an arc directly into the dancer's gaping mouth. The crowd roared with delight, just as they did each time a raver



Techno music fans parade past Berlin's Brandenburg Gate on the Love Parade, which has become the defining event for a new generation of Germans

climbed a lamppost and when a girl ripped off her clothes and plunged into a fountain.

On the face of it, the 750,000 people who thronged the centre of Berlin for the Love Parade on Saturday appeared to have little in common apart from their youth.

They came from all over Germany in special Love Trains, strapping Westerners glowing with prosperity

and gruel-faced Easterners who struggle to make ends meet.

Swaggering Turkish boys danced happily alongside skinheads and off-duty football hooligans mingled contentedly with leather-clad gays.

Police praised the behaviour of festival-goers — only 34 people were arrested for offences such as possessing drugs and ignoring police orders.

The Love Parade that started eight years ago with 150 techno fans has grown into Berlin's biggest annual attraction, earning the city's businesses more than £30 million in extra revenues.

No longer simply a festival of techno music, it has become the defining event for a new generation of Germans who reject political ideology but hold fast to liberal values.

This year's motto was "We are one family" but with floats representing such divergent interests as Camel cigarettes, Greenpeace and the "Rave 4 Christ". It was a powerful celebration of diversity.

When DJ Dr Mottis addressed the crowd at the end of the nine-hour parade, he called on everyone to use music to promote peace and understanding between different peoples.

As he spoke, German television news bulletins showed violent pictures from Belfast and Londonderry.

The parade's route through the Tiergarten to the Brandenburg Gate and back to the Prussian Victory Column was laden with historical significance, but few of the ravers seemed burdened by their country's savage history. If they were looking for a role

model from the past, they might choose the man who laid out the Tiergarten as Berlin's central park, King Frederick the Great.

The 18th century Prussian monarch was a cosmopolitan homosexual who made his court a home for radical thinkers and his state a haven of religious tolerance. His motto was *Jeder nach seiner Façon* (Each after his own fashion).

Belarus returns to the bad old days

Matthew Brzezinski in Minsk reports on a suppression of dissent that smacks of dictatorship

AMISTY drizzle shrouds the Soviet star that crowns the huge obelisk on Victory square. Beneath it, an guard of honour goose-steps to the sombre wail of Tchaikovsky.

Thousands of elderly war veterans, dripping with medals, huddle before the monument under black umbrellas and drenched red Soviet flags.

KGB watchers video-tape the procession. They focus their cameras on several Western observers and young state enterprise employees, huddled in to the government-sponsored march, who try to leave discreetly after the official head-counts.

The scene could be straight out of pre-perestroika Moscow. But it was played out recently in Minsk, capital of the former Soviet republic of Belarus, where the hardline president, Alexander Lukashenko, is determined to restore a Stalinist system.

On July 1 Belarus became the only European country whose citizens need permission to travel abroad. The new iron curtain wedged between Poland and Russia also covers the information highway. Internet surfers must now register with the militia.

The restrictions are part of a crackdown on dissent: independent newspapers have been closed, dozens of journalists beaten, opposition rallies violently crushed and jails filled with hundreds of political opponents.

In Belarus you can be branded an enemy of the state for pro-Western views, supporting the free market, criticising the president's policies or opposing the restoration of the former Soviet Union.

This is an allegation that kangaroo courts in Belarus make seriously: a deaf and mute teenager was tried recently for shouting anti-state slogans.

"We have a communist dictatorship in the making," said Pavel Sheremet, editor-

in-chief of one the largest opposition dailies. The paper, like six other independent publications, has to print its editions in neighbouring Lithuania because it has been denied access to the state-owned printing works and distribution networks.

Its troubles do not stop there. In late June, four unidentified men beat up the wife of an outspoken journalist working for Mr Sheremet, telling her they would return to visit her husband unless he changed the tone of his articles.

Since then several other spouses of independent journalists have been threatened by men in the streets.

Mr Lukashenko, the 41-year-old former collective farm director elected to power in 1994, sees his mission as restoring order from the chaos that has prevailed since the Soviet Union collapsed. He has vowed to run "the bunch of crooks" that have opened shops, businesses and banks since 1991 out of the country.

He has banned the registration of new private businesses and started proceedings to close existing ones. He has tried to restore a command economy with fixed production schedules and artificial exchange rates.

Belarus's small business community is angry, but few are screaming foul. Most keep portraits of the president on their desks. Not surprising, considering he has the backing of the security apparatus which, according to Western diplomats, employs 150,000 of the country's 10 million citizens.

Indeed, militiamen in rust olive-grey uniforms, plainclothes KGB officers at the wheels of dark Volga sedans and dreaded Omon elite riot squads lurk on every street corner in the dreary capital.

Shortly after Mr Lukashenko's election Omon squads were sent into parliament to drag out MPs who opposed his declaration to rule by decree.

Piotr Kapitula, a top adviser to Mr Lukashenko, defends the crackdown. "President Lukashenko supports freedom of speech and democracy," he said. "But free speech entails responsibility and unfortunately certain people are irresponsible."

UK to block Burma sanctions

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok

BITAIN, already defying the Burmese democracy movement's appeals to the west to shun trade and investment with the military regime, seems likely to obstruct calls for sanctions against Burma at a meeting of European Union foreign ministers in Brussels today.

Backed by other EU member states, notably Ireland, which holds the EU presidency, London is expected to argue that any sanctions

should first receive international support. As a result, EU foreign ministers are likely to refer the issue to a study group.

Britain's lack of enthusiasm for sanctions is consistent with Department of Trade and Industry efforts, exposed in yesterday's Observer, to explore new business opportunities in Burma. A DTI official arrived in Rangoon for that purpose last month on the day that the Foreign Office minister Jeremy Hanley told the Commons that Britain supported democratic reform and had cancelled a proposed trade

mission to Burma. The case for EU sanctions is being led by Denmark, citing a crackdown against the democracy movement there by the ruling junta and the death in detention of its honorary consul, James Nichols, who also represented Finland, Norway and Switzerland.

The US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, said last week that Washington was considering the use of sanctions but was looking at other forms of pressure first.

Mr Nichols was charged with possessing unauthorised telephone and fax machines but was almost certainly

jailed because of his close links to the Burmese democracy movement's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi.

The Norwegian government said last week it had evidence that the 65-year-old Mr Nichols was tortured with sleep deprivation before his death.

The junta has added to the outrage at Mr Nichols's death by stalling on requests for details of the circumstances and ignoring requests for information from the governments he worked for as consul.

The Burmese authorities had Mr Nichols buried 13 hours after his death and

without the presence of either diplomats or relations. Diplomats say the Burmese foreign ministry has ignored a request by the European governments for a medical report. It has also ignored their application for an independent autopsy.

The EU meeting comes at a time when renewed action by the Burmese junta against Ms Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy, seems possible. Rangoon residents are speculating how she will mark Martyrs' Day on Friday, commemorating her father, the independence hero Aung San,

murdered with five others in 1948.

Her plans to mark the occasion in 1988 with a march by her supporters was seen as contributing to her detention for six years under house arrest.

Ms Suu Kyi also appears to have put herself on a collision course with the junta this year by her determination to prepare a draft constitution as an alternative to the charter under debate in a military-dominated convention. The junta passed a law last month threatening anyone belittling the convention with jail.



Detail from Guérin's La Mort de Brutus, which inspired Mr Bordes to stage his exhibition

Museum set to put Brutus back on his pedestal

Paul Webster in Vézille

TWO hundred years on, Lucius Junius Brutus's legendary contribution to the Terror is being reassessed in an exhibition at the French Revolution museum near Grenoble.

Brutus, remembered for his oath of vengeance after the rape of Lucretia by King Tarquin's son, was one of the first consuls of the Roman Republic established in 509 BC. In 1789 he became the idol of French republicanism — only to be cast down with Maximilien Robespierre barely five years after the fall of the Bastille.

Vézille, a town famous for its anti-royalist fervour before the Revolution, has taken on the task of rehabilitating Lucius Brutus. The town boasts the most important museum dedicated to 1789, but it attracts only 45,000 visitors a year because of poor transport links.

The exhibition organiser, Philippe Bordes, was inspired by the recent acqui-

sition of a 1793 painting by Pierre-Narcisse Guérin called *La Mort de Brutus*. This was finished at the peak of Brutus's popularity soon after his bust was placed on the desk of the national assembly's speaker when the first republic was founded in 1792.

"Revolutionaries of 1789 referred unthinkingly to Lucius Junius Brutus as the virtuous defender of republicanism," Mr Bordes said, recalling the Roman leader's death sentence on his two sons when they tried to re-establish the monarchy.

"His severity was invoked during the Terror as just and necessary. Afterwards, the horrors committed in his name made him appear a monster."

In paintings by Botticelli and Raphael, and classic literature like Shakespeare's *Lucretia*, Brutus is commemorated more for his compassion for Lucretia than his anti-royalism. But 18th century painters and writers created a European-wide cult around his sacrifices for a republic brought about by the revolt

that followed Lucretia's rape.

"One of the most influential paintings was by a Scotsman, Gavin Hamilton. His depiction of Brutus's oath inspired a gallery of French neo-classicists, including Guérin and Jacques-Louis David.

"Voltaire's tragedy *Brutus* raised republican citizenship to an ideal, and by the time Louis XVI had been decapitated Brutus was one of the most popular first names in Paris and Marseille.

Many of the Revolution's great figures cited the ancient Roman's condemnation of his sons as a justification of the Terror.

"It is fair to say that the adoption of Brutus as a god-father turned against them," Mr Bordes said.

"He was chosen to impose the rule of law, patriotic devotion and an inflexible attitude towards traitors. In fact, his image could serve to justify informing, arbitrary cruel judgments and the blind obedience of government officials to state violence."

Young China bashes US

'The Chinese race is at a most crucial moment and we should stand up and build a new Great Wall with our own flesh and blood'

Chinese national anthem

Andrew Higgins

FOR more than two millennia, the Great Wall — 3,750 miles of earth and brick — has served as the symbol of Chinese pride, power and not infrequent paranoia.

But it is a modest wall in Washington DC that animates the darker fantasies of China's new nationalists.

The 287th slab of black granite is inscribed with the names of 58,196 Americans killed in Vietnam. Radical Chinese patriots predict the erection of a second memorial wall on Washington's central mall. It will be needed, they say, to record all the Americans who perish in a coming war with China over Taiwan.

"Washington should prepare to engrave the names of even more young Americans on an even higher and still wider memorial wall," warns a 425-page manifesto of militant Chinese nationalism.

The tract is the work of five young Chinese writers — journalists and poets — members of the intelligentsia that since seven years ago paraded into Tiananmen Square to chant for democracy and cheer a plaster replica of the Statue of Liberty.

"When we were in university, we all admired American culture and worshipped Western things," said Song Qiang, the television journalist, aged 31, who masterminded the book. "Now that we are older we realise that we don't have to despise our own country."

The writers trace their disillusionment with the West to two acts of "betrayal": the defeat of China's bid to host the 2000 Olympic Games and the arrival of two US aircraft-carrier battle groups off the coast of Taiwan in March.

Americans are very naive. They think that Chinese youth are all pro-Western and

admire them," said Mr Song. "We want Americans, the English and other Westerners to understand what the young people of China today really think."

The result is *China Can Say No*, a wild jumble of conspiracy theory, anti-Western polemic and bombastic insecurity. The title mimics the Japan that Can Say No, a 1989 tract by a Japanese nationalist, Shintaro Ishihara, and the former Sony chairman Akio Morita. In tone and style, though, it resembles more closely a rant by the Russian ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

The authors deny any government role in the project but, in a country where every printed word is vetted for bits of political heresy, their cause clearly enjoys official favour.

An initial print run of 50,000 copies sold out within weeks. Wen Wei Po, a Beijing-controlled newspaper in Hong Kong, is now serialising extracts, part of a campaign to drum up patriotic fervour in the colony before Britain pulls out next year.

Its chapter headings include "Don't be afraid of saying 'Let's get ready for war'" and "Burn down Hollywood".

The manifesto sees Russia as China's future ally in an anti-Western axis, hails the "iron will and unyielding extremism" of Iran's Islamic revolution and mocks the US as a flabby has-been bent on thwarting China's rise to

superpower status. "The downfall of the United States is just a matter of time."

US demands that China close factories churning out pirated copies of films, software and compact discs are dismissed as a plot. China must retaliate by charging foreigners for the use of paper, gunpowder and other pirated Chinese inventions.

Even the dinner table becomes an east-west battleground. "How come foreigners laugh at our way of managing forks and knives at the dinner table while they do not even know how to use chopsticks properly? Are Western forks and knives better than Chinese chopsticks? Fuck off."

Mr Song conceded that the book was not always coherent. He said it was written in only three weeks. "We wanted to get people's attention. We are serious but we also have a sense of humour."

Its wacky belligerence should delight Chinese diplomats. They have spent much time arguing that any challenge to Beijing on human rights or copyright piracy will inflame nationalist feelings and produce a dangerous anti-foreign backlash.

The book began in much the same way as the student protests of 1988, growing out of the informal discussion groups Chinese intellectuals call *sha-long* — salons.

In the 1980s such discussions focused on the pro-Western and pro-democracy themes of dissident intellectuals like the astrophysicist Fang Lihai. But with Professor Fang in exile in the US and the ideas he championed banished with him, young Chinese wave the flag instead of protest banners.

Mr Song's only regret about *China Can Say No* is the phrasing of its title. "Many people think it should have been *China Must Say No!*"

The Spanish Civil War also briefly watered the seeds of a feminist revolt. For the first time ever posters of good-looking young women in overalls with rifles slung over their shoulders were for recruitment drives.

G2 cover story

Holiday Diary

John Hooper

Lucy and I are experts. All of us have a particular talent or skill - something we do better than anyone else. What Lucy and I do better than anyone else is have disastrous holidays.

It's something we can only do together. Before we married, we both - separately - enjoyed normal, pleasant vacations. So you can imagine that our honeymoon was something rather special.

It began at a hotel run by a psychopath. On the first night, she fell out with a huge Norwegian and flung him down a flight of stairs. Honey-mooners are not meant to notice what's going on around them.

They're meant to spend all their time in bed. We too spent all our time in bed. But that was because we immediately developed bronchial flu.

I had planned it all carefully, in such a way that we could enjoy not one, but two Greek islands. Thus, halfway through, when both of us were in high fever, we had to get up to go to the port.

The two islands were next to each other. You could see the second from the first. But it transpired that there was no ferry between them. So we had to go all the way back to the mainland. And then find a hotel, because the ferry from Island One didn't arrive until five minutes after the ferry to Island Two departed.

I shall not easily forget the experience of dragging two leaden bags of Piraeus with a temperature of over 100. But later events have eclipsed the memory by an almost nostalgic glow.

At holiday time, it has become safe to assume that, if neither of us is ill, it has to be raining. Or worse.

We went to Queensland and a typhoon - you remember the one that wrecked Mackay and Rockhampton some years ago? - defied all predictions to veer towards us. We went to Florida and on the first morning I drew back the curtains of our motel room to find a traffic sign embedded in the rear of our hire car - there had been a hurricane in the night which we had been too jet-lagged to notice.

For a while, we were convinced it was all the fault of our lack of planning. We peered over the roof of our hire car - there had been a hurricane in the night which we had been too jet-lagged to notice.

That was the year we ended up in an apartment in Spain. It had a glorious view over the sea - and a hole in the ceiling through which crumbling asbestos fell like January snow.

For a while, we reckoned the solution was just to go - pack our bags, jump on a plane, then find the best place to spend the money.

We tried the Caribbean. We tracked down what seemed like the dream hotel at a reasonable rate. And, cautiously, we booked for a trial night. Just before we went to bed, we discovered, by purest chance, that it was due to close - forever - on the day after our arrival.

For understandable reasons, we have recently stuck closer to home, which for us is Rome.

Last year, we went to Umbria - for that fortnight which everyone agrees saw the heaviest August rains in living memory. This year, we went to the Italian Lakes.

What could be safer than an area which features on a million chocolate boxes? No sooner had we cleared the toll booths outside Milan than large black clouds could be seen jostling each other in the foothills of the Alps. The next day's papers told us seven yachtsmen had been winched to safety.

We had not even unpacked and there had been a shipwreck. On Lake Maggiore.

I have no advice, no moral, to offer. Just a tip. Don't look for us in other people's holiday snaps. Look for us at the end of the TV news - in the segment reserved for overseas natural disasters. Look for a tall man and a blonde woman - not waving, but quite possibly in danger of drowning.



A typical holiday snap from the Hooper family album

So nice you don't have to wash your hands

Commentary Mark Lawson

BY COINCIDENCE, while flying to America last week, I read a book review by the military historian John Keegan in the latest issue of the Oxford history of the United States, covering the period 1945-74. Keegan confessed that, on his own first visit to the US in 1957, he felt he had "emerged into Wonderland", a place of plenty and vitality that contrasted starkly with the "grey little welfare state" from which he came.

This is a fairly standard attitude towards America for those Britons who first visited it just after the second world war - I have read very similar sentiments expressed by Roy Jenkins and Kingsley Amis - but one which is likely to make younger generations think, if I may borrow an expression: get outta here! For those Britons born

later, the wonder, while it undoubtedly still exists, has become fatally complicated by comedy and horror.

An hour in the room of my hotel confirmed this view. The lavatory may stand as the Panasonic "Intumist" anal hygiene system, a device to satisfy the curiosity of anyone who has ever wondered what it might be like to be sodomised by a soda siphon. This invention may stand as the pointless apothecary of the American desire to have technology which other civilisations lack.

Next I noticed that there had been a subtle change in the breakfast order forms which occupants are invited to hang on their doorknob before retiring. Visitors were now advised to write only their initials, rather than their full name, on the card. The only logical explanation for this change is that some mugger or murderer had gained entry to hotel rooms by reading the surnames off the slaving requests for pancakes and orange juice and pretending to be room service.

On the television, a talk show was trailing an item on how to deal with "household pets with low self-esteem", while another promised revelations on "cosmetic surgery for tropical fish". On a news programme, an anchorman called Kent Shockrock was talking about an astronaut called Shannon Lucid, comic novel names which confirmed

the frequent sense in late 20th-century America of a slippage between satire and reality. The contrast which so appealed to John Keegan and his generation was still there, but something had gone wrong with the contrast control.

It was intriguing to read, then, that the latest craze in American culture is, apparently, niceness. A slew of articles, crowned by a Newsweek cover story, declare that consumers are rejecting nastiness and embracing sweetness. The evidence for this change of heart is a significant shift in one area of American television: the afternoon talk shows. This genre has depended on lurid confession and confrontation in front of a live audience. The King of this time slot - Geraldo Rivera - once hosted an edition entitled "Men in Lace Panties and the Women who Love Them"; in another show, on cosmetic surgery, had fat from his backside injected into his forehead; and, in a third, had his nose broken in a fight with neo-Nazis.

However, the newest American sensation - her afternoon show achieving the best debut ratings since Oprah Winfrey - is Rosie O'Donnell, a Dawn French lookalike, whose gentle and jolly chat show has convinced critics and advertisers that nice is in.

But the current euphoria about the programme's success - in which the hostess gushes about Tom Cruise and sycophantically chats with faded TV stars from the 1950s - assumes that the central problem of contemporary American culture is its mean streak. In fact, I would argue that - with the exception of its homicide rate - US society has been committed to niceness, an ambition encapsulated in its legendary insincerity: "Have a nice day!"

The Reagan presidency was the logical conclusion of a general electoral desire to be presided over by a nice guy who will pretend that things are going well. In the current race, Bill Clinton is helped by a perception that he is a more pleasant fellow than the dour Bob Dole, who is further dragged down by the nastiness of the Republican rightwing, which has just prevented him from inserting a reference to "tolerance" in the party's policy statement on abortion.

American popular culture - up to and including the current hit alien-invasion movie

American popular culture is disfigured by illogical happy endings

Independence Day - is frequently disfigured by illogical happy endings, an artistic application of niceness. For example, Newsweek's piece on the nicing of American culture included a reference to the autumn TV schedule in which "Bill Cosby returns as a grumpy gaffer with a heart of gold". British viewers may be surprised to learn that the series in question is the American version of One Foot in The Grave, with Cosby as a characteristically sanitised Victor Meldrew.

Political correctness - that virus in modern American life - is, in essence, an institutionalised niceness, an im-

posed cosiness, protecting statements from the harsh reality of what their friends might really be thinking. The disfigured or aged from the implications of their condition. It is, in short, all that niceness that makes America such a frightening place and makes 1990s visitors feel not the "wonder" that John Keegan did in the 1950s, but a strange combination of wonder and wonderwhy.

This mixture of emotions was perfectly evoked by an obituary that appeared in the second issue of Northern Ireland in recent days. A US citizen called Alex Manoogian died last week, aged 95, in Detroit. An Armenian who came to America with his family in the 1920s, he finished his career as chief executive of a billion dollar company.

Manoogian pioneered the single-handed faucet that permitted millions of citizens of the second half of the century to access water in their bathroom or kitchen while keeping one hand free for other tasks.

This seems to me a purely American life: an immigrant who took advantage of genuine political freedom to capitalise on the provision of a rather spurious domestic freedom. Manoogian's obituary, like so much in his adopted land, is a mixture of the miraculous and half a joke, but he had the advantage of coming to the country at a time when the astonishing still had the ascendancy over the comic. It seems unlikely that he will be quite as touched by the obituaries, when it comes time to write them, for the inventor of the "Intumist" anal hygiene system, a brain wave which betters that of the late Mr Manoogian by leaving you with one hand free for all other things. Indeed, if you think about it, this curious construction results from a desire to make even defecation nicer. America really doesn't need niceness.

In the bunker with his eyes shut tight



Paul Foot

THE only good news to come out of Northern Ireland in recent days is the announcement that the Secretary of State, Sir Patrick Mayhew, is not going to stand again at the next election. He could and should improve on the good news by resigning forthwith. Two alternatives emerged from his abject performance on Newsnight on July 12th. Either, as most republicans in Northern Ireland believe, he was dismissed - and had in fact given secret orders to the police to surrender to the Orange marchers at Portadown. If so, he broke every pledge made by ministers since they took charge in Northern Ireland in 1972 - that the British government does not take sides in the sectarian divide in Northern Ireland. The second, I think more likely, alternative - that he was told the truth and had to let decisions about the Portadown march to the chief constable - is even worse. Nearly 40 years ago, when I was a (conscripted) commissioned officer in the British army, we devised a slogan to protect ourselves in times of trouble: "through that gap, sergeant! I'm close behind!" This philosophy has been enthusiastically adopted by Sir Patrick Mayhew and his advisers. No issue more immediately confronts a government committed to ending the sectarian war in Northern Ireland than the Orange parades through Catholic areas. The parades have one purpose only: to intimidate, harass, abuse and mock the Catholic minority. In this sense, the parades are no different to fascist or racist marches through areas occupied by racial minorities. Such marches were systematically banned in Britain in the early 1980s by that celebrated law and order enthusiast, Margaret Thatcher. A secretary of state who leaves such matters to the police is plainly abandoning any pretence at political responsibility. Mayhew must go. There would be a secondary, if substantial advantage. We would never again have to put up with this posturing Plaza Toro on the television screen urging us, while the area for which he is responsible and the peace process about which he has been bragging for so long go up in flames, to "cheer up for heaven's sake!"

IN Nelson Mandela's discussions with ministers, did he mention Lockerbie? Not long ago, he wrote to John Major urging him to break the deadlock over the

1988 bombing of Pan-Am 103 over Lockerbie. The British and US governments have named two Libyans as suspects for the bombing and demanded that the men stand trial in the US or Scotland. The men's lawyers doubt they can get a fair trial in either place, but have agreed instead to a trial in a neutral country under a panel of five judges with a Scottish president. They have also agreed that the trial should be conducted under Scottish legal procedure with Scottish solicitors and counsel. In a radio interview on July 1st, the South African Foreign Minister, Dr Nzo, indicated "fervently" that an agreement to a trial outside Scotland would be prepared to host such a trial. This would be especially appropriate in the light of the remarkable fact, only recently admitted for the first time by the South African government, that their foreign minister at the time, Pik Botha, and a huge entourage were booked on Pan Am 103, and switched flights at the last moment. The British government remains obstinate that an agreement to a trial outside Scotland would be according to Gary Streeter MP, a minister in the Lord Chancellor's department, "to accept the proposition that a trial in Scotland would be the truth and had to let decisions about the Portadown march to the chief constable - is even worse. Nearly 40 years ago, when I was a (conscripted) commissioned officer in the British army, we devised a slogan to protect ourselves in times of trouble: "through that gap, sergeant! I'm close behind!" This philosophy has been enthusiastically adopted by Sir Patrick Mayhew and his advisers. No issue more immediately confronts a government committed to ending the sectarian war in Northern Ireland than the Orange parades through Catholic areas. The parades have one purpose only: to intimidate, harass, abuse and mock the Catholic minority. In this sense, the parades are no different to fascist or racist marches through areas occupied by racial minorities. Such marches were systematically banned in Britain in the early 1980s by that celebrated law and order enthusiast, Margaret Thatcher. A secretary of state who leaves such matters to the police is plainly abandoning any pretence at political responsibility. Mayhew must go. There would be a secondary, if substantial advantage. We would never again have to put up with this posturing Plaza Toro on the television screen urging us, while the area for which he is responsible and the peace process about which he has been bragging for so long go up in flames, to "cheer up for heaven's sake!"

AT A recent Hands Off The BBC meeting, held very close to BBC Television Centre, Charles Wheeler, the veteran broadcaster, asked about the role in the coming cull of jobs and services at the BBC of John Birt's chief lieutenant. He named Tony Hall (chief executive BBC News), Alan Yentob (director of programmes) and Michael Jackson (director of television) all of whom, Wheeler insisted, are essentially programme makers, who might be expected to defend the programme-making against all comers. The same applies to Will Wyatt (chief executive BBC Broadcast). Wyatt used to make excellent programmes for radio and television, and once wrote an intriguing book on the identity of the revolutionary novelist, B Traven. The book was entitled The Man Who Was B Traven, but what about The Man Who Was Will Wyatt? Is he, or Yentob or Jackson or Hall, going to preside over the dismantling of public service broadcasting in the interests of a technological battle with Rupert Murdoch and co which they can't afford and can't win? Will they leave in disgust, as Liz Forgan obviously did from BBC Radio? Or will they stand and fight?

Today, as the Asylum and Immigration Bill returns to the Commons for its final reading, Hirit Belai considers the hardship faced by political refugees entering Britain

A final brick in the wall

LAST year, as the Government prepared to introduce new regulations that would have the effect of cutting social security benefits to asylum-seekers, the Daily Mail announced that the world's refugees saw Britain as a soft touch. It listed the available welfare payments and a laborious appeals procedure. It was a nonsensical assertion. Over the last 10 years, Britain has recognised 8,000 refugees and allowed another 45,000 to remain "exceptionally" - an average intake of roughly 5,000 refugees and would-be refugees a year. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that there are now some 20,000 recognised refugees in Britain, 30,000 in Holland, five times that number in France and over a million in Germany.

Under the terms of the Asylum Bill, any asylum-seeker who fails to make an application within three days of arriving in Britain loses benefit, so do those involved in the lengthy process of appealing against a decision to deny them asylum. This regulation came into effect, in slightly different form, on 5 February, but was ruled illegal by the Court of Appeal last month and it has simply been reinstated as an amendment to the present Bill. If the Bill becomes law, there will be at least 8,000 asylum-seekers without benefit, according to the Refugee Council; many of them will be homeless.

A policy that attempts to discourage future asylum-seekers by punishing those who are already here does not make much sense when migration is overwhelmingly the consequence of insecurity in the country of origin - the attractions of Britain are not a consideration. Besides, previous attempts to tighten visa laws and restrict asylum have made access to Britain so difficult that an underworld of agencies and criminals now thrives on the plight of refugees and other migrants.

"Third Country" restrictions mean that if immigration officers can prove that you stopped anywhere they consider safe en route for the UK, whether it was Orly Airport or a refugee camp in Sudan, they will detain you either in Queens Building at Heathrow or at Campfield Prison near Oxford, before deporting you. And under the Carriers' Liability Act of 1993 airlines are fined £2,000 for each passenger they bring to Britain without a valid passport and visa. Both these restrictions were British innovations which other European countries were quick to copy. But refugees are unlikely to have visas and, in Africa, Western embassies are not keen to issue them, which means that the only way out for most people is to bribe their way on to a plane.

This was the case for Sara, an Ethiopian who came here last December seeking political asylum. She had escaped from detention in Sudan to a refugee camp in Kenya where, for three years, "life was hell". In the end, she paid \$3,000 to



an agent in Mombasa, who provided her with all the paperwork she needed to get here: a passport, a return ticket, a letter of introduction about a fictitious business trip, typed on the headed paper of a well-known international organisation, and the valid visa which these had enabled him to obtain. Without them, she could not have boarded the plane to Nairobi. On her arrival at Heathrow, she rushed into the first toilets she could find, passing a suspicious-looking man near the entrance, shut the door and in compliance with the agent's instructions, tore up the documents she had paid so much for and flushed them down the toilet. She waited for at least an hour before coming out - enough time, she hoped, for her plane to have departed. It would now be very difficult for immigration to trace her to a country of origin and impossible to make a turnaround deportation from Heathrow.

The man by the entrance of the toilets was still there when she came out. He asked to see her passport and ticket, to know what flight she had arrived on. He led her off to the immigration assembly area, threatening to deport her. She kept her head despite a volley

of hostile questions and was referred to the Refugee Arrivals Project. In due course she applied for asylum. Not everyone who comes to Britain seeking asylum is that resolute. Last month I accompanied Mary, a Liberian asylum-seeker, and her malnourished, two-year-old daughter to a Hackney benefits office. Social security officers in London boroughs are not "attractive" places for people who have just escaped a war. Just as the Carriers' Liability Act means that airlines have to act as immigration officers, the Government expects many of its employees - in hospitals, benefit agencies, Homeless Persons Units and schools - to check the immigration status of their clients. Many refuse, but when Mary's number was finally called she faced a repetition of her Heathrow interrogation of the previous week. The DSS officer, whose sole duties were to examine the income support and housing benefit forms we had filled in and verify the 1996 form issued to refugees by immigration, launched into an inquisition. "Why did you leave Liberia? What is going on there? What was your role in the fighting?"

in. The youngest must have been under 14. They explained that their parents had given them to a "friend" in Addis who had seen them through Customs and then vanished in the Arrivals hall. They had no idea why they were here, wanted for "what?" they asked. Eventually someone contacted social services and put them into the system.

According to the Home Office, 360 unaccompanied children under 17 arrived in the UK in 1994, the largest number from Somalia and Sri Lanka. But even in countries without major conflicts, elements of the prosperous middle classes are willing to pay to get their children on a plane to Europe. Most African refugees are "bogus" refugees, are pessimistic about the stability of their continent. Dropping their children like freight at European airports is hardly a solution.

In 1995, 22,500 people from Africa applied for asylum in Britain. The likelihood of their being allowed to stay is slim. In the same period 14,000 decisions were reached, with the result that 80 people - a little more than 0.5 per cent of applicants - were recognised as refugees and 2,500 were allowed to remain temporarily. These extraordinary statistics are used to substantiate official claims that the system is being overwhelmed by "bogus" refugees. In fact, they are a reflection of the Government's policy on political asylum. "Bogus" and "genuine" are in any case fickle categories. The distinction rests on a reference to the Geneva Convention, a "well-founded fear of persecution" in the 1951 Geneva Convention. Yet there are no clear-cut, objective criteria whereby applicants can prove, or the Home Office refute, a fear of persecution.

Immigration officials tend increasingly to treat all applications as suspect. The process thus becomes thoroughly circular. Tighter legislation means fewer and fewer applicants are recognised as "genuine". The remainder are labelled "bogus", thereby confirming the need for tighter control, which in turn produces the startlingly low figure for successful applications that the Government can invoke to justify its policy.

Already there is evidence that African countries are following Britain's "tough" stance. If they persist, the consequences will be serious: last year, there were 1.8 million refugees in Zaire and nearly a million in Sudan. There are many more in the rest of the continent - which, of course, makes it hard to explain to someone like Mary why the DSS is loath to part with a £12 crisis loan, or why Britain is legislating refugees out of existence.

Advertisement for 'HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE?' by Dr Vernon Coleman. The text describes the benefits of the book, including a free gift book and a cheque/PO for £9.95. It also includes a testimonial from a doctor and contact information for the publisher, The European Medical Journal.

Misplaced nos
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on fift

10 OBITUARIES

Susan Cowdy

Birdwoman of Bardsey

ONLY a few days before she was killed in a car crash near her home in Buckinghamshire, I had a letter from the ornithologist Susan Cowdy inviting me to join her for a week in September on Ynys Bardsey (Bardsey Island) in north Wales. She was nearly 82 and still going ahead with plans and projects with all the brio she had always put into life.

It was in connection with Bardsey that I first met Susan some 40 years ago. At the bird observatory, founded in 1953, we had advertised for a voluntary cook to provide our visitors with one cooked meal a day as well as a bird observatory. Susan was the first to respond. She was a charming lady from Great Missenden, who came for one summer. Then another. Then another.

under the guidance of Captain H.A. Gilbert who lived in the Wye valley near Bulthorpe Wells. So on Bardsey she soon got involved in bird-ringing and bird study. And having fallen in love with an island, she then fell in love with one of its special birds. It was the island's jaegers that she loved, a jaeger-like bird though, a refined, having a handsome curved red beak and smart red legs. Choughs and smart red legs. Choughs are not at all common. They are exclusive to the island and there are always a few on Bardsey, endearing Susan for their lively musical calls and the way they cavort and play in the air. Susan was very fond of them for many years, not only on Bardsey but in the west of Ireland and elsewhere. Her first paper about them appeared in the *Bardsey Observatory Report* for 1960.



Susan Cowdy... keeping a beady eye on birds

Those were the days when the survival of nature and the countryside were becoming ever greater issues and Susan got deeply involved in conservation, especially in connection with the BPO, the Berks, Bucks and Oxon Naturalists' Trust, for whom she worked tirelessly for the rest of her life, serving on committees, raising funds, creating nature reserves, giving talks, recruiting members, writing articles and countless letters, and carrying out frequent diplomacy. She also found time for the *Stewart Preservation Council* for Rural England and RSPB

John Chancellor

Weighty anchor

JOHN Chancellor, one of the dominating figures of American television news, has died aged 68 after a career with the National Broadcasting Company spanning more than 40 years. In that time he had reported major news events across the US and from 50 other countries. He had also had spells as the network's resident correspondent in Moscow, Vienna and Brussels.

But it was from 1970 to 1982 when he acted as anchorman for the NBC Nightly News, that he became best-known. Through audience ratings contests he placed himself prominently in the CBS's Walter Cronkite, many of his professional peers thought him the better journalist, not least for resisting the pomposity to which Cronkite was prone. Chancellor first came to national attention during the 1967 crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas, when Governor Orval Faubus mobilised the National Guard to prevent integration of the state's public schools. Chancellor had been diverted from another assignment at the last minute and found himself watching the lone figure of 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford as she approached the Central High school pursued by a mob calling for her to be lynched.

Because her parents were not on the phone, they had not been told of plans for the nine black children, accompanied by local clergymen, to approach the school under police protection. She arrived alone after the others had fled from the threatened violence. The child's dignity during her ordeal and the restrained horror in Chancellor's voice as he reported the scene made NBC's film a national sensation. It took up 12 minutes of the 15-minute bulletin and the network gave similar time to Chancellor and the rest of the Southers started crying. So others started referring to the Nigger Broadcaster and his life was at times in danger.



H

Hugh Davson

Applying the brain to the membrane

HUGH Davson, who has died aged 86, was a much-loved physiologist whose discoveries on the fluids of the eye and the brain laid the foundations for modern methods of treatment for glaucoma and hydrocephalus. His work paved the way for designing drugs to enter or avoid the brain. He was a fluent and prolific writer, whose textbooks have benefited generations of scientists.

Davson applied chemistry and mathematics to the understanding of membrane permeability, and of the fluid environment of the eye and the brain. He studied the movement of substances in and out of living cells, and with Jack Danielli, called, and nature of the thin membrane surrounding the cell, proposing a model of the membrane that became known as the "Davson-Danielli" model.

Davson was the father of studies on the blood-brain barrier. This is the specialised layer of cells that separates the blood from the brain, and provides the finely regulated environment for the networks of nerve cells. Davson was the son of a Highgate general practitioner. He did not excel at University College School, where he found the teachers sarcastic and the regime brutal. His father placed him as a clerk with a firm operating on the Baltic Exchange, where he was extremely bored. After two years he was sacked. He then took a first-class degree in chemistry from University College, graduating in 1931 and in the same year marrying Marjorie Heath - who became a distinguished portrait painter.

It was the depth of the Depression when he needed a regular income, but with no prospect of a job he elected to stay on and do research. A year later he was taken on by biochemistry professor J.C. Drummond who left Davson free to pursue his research. His experiments on the movement of the small ions, sodium and potassium, across the membranes of red blood cells, were published in his first paper in 1932. He then worked for a year with ophthalmologist Sir Stuart Duke-Elder devising a method for measuring the pressure of the eye and disproving Duke-Elder's theory that glaucoma was caused by swelling of the vitreous. Davson had one of many disagreements with the establishment when his paper on glaucoma was first rejected for publication, the referee not having understood the problem. Davson published several influential papers with Jack Danielli, and in 1936 was awarded a Rockefeller Fellowship to work in the United States on the effects of narcot-

ics on membrane permeability. His results contradicted those of his employer, M.H. Jacobs, and he was persuaded not to publish them, to his later regret, since he had detected a novel feature of ion transport. Awarded a Beit Fellowship in London in 1937, he developed quantitative methods for measuring the permeability of barriers between the blood and the fluid compartments of the eye that became standard. His brilliance is documented by the award of a DSc in 1940, only a year after his MSc.

In 1938 Davson accepted a position at Canada's Dalhousie University but he returned to wartime England to analyse the effects of nitrogen mustard on the eye. Then, as a virologist, he worked on night vision, driving tanks and bulldozers through the blackout, guided by infra-red illumination. His apparently effortless erudition was the result of acute intelligence and meticulous reading. He brought the same application to the arts, with deep knowledge and love of Shakespeare - he memorised Shakespearean sonnets when stuck in traffic jams - with command of several languages.

He loved the countryside, and attributed his longevity to the 20 mile walks he took from his Devon cottage, carefully planned to arrive at a convenient pub at lunchtime. He was happily married to Marjorie until her death in 1984. He gave a daughter and gained great pleasure from his grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Hugh Davson, physiologist and writer: born November 25, 1909, died July 2, 1996.



Davson... upset the establishment

Jackdaw



Inside of everyone, except for Michael J. Fox. Actually, Elvis is neither alive nor dead but in a realm of metaphysical probability. Actually, I heard that he was living in a trailer park near Toledo. He is often seen hovering over swap-meets in the area.

This is not true at all. I happen to know for a fact that he is a registered family physician under the name of D. Joy in Northern Michigan. He works with my father, and just the other day gave me an examination while singing "Don't be cruel" off-key.

Proteinology

PREDICT your future with just 4 hours from your head. SEND 4 hairs and \$19.95. You will receive a letter telling you about your past 4 months living style. Your past predicts your future. Your hair can now not only inform others of the size of your brains but also of your past and future. www.eslandnet.com/lars/martin/protein.html

On and on

ET VIS is not geographically

brute the millennium with a 15 minute service in every church in the land at noon on 1 January 2000. This would be preceded by a five-minute peal "of every bell in every belfry" in and throughout the Kingdom".

You choose: Beers down the local boozery with all your mates drinking nearby. She thinks: He's just a sad git who wants to prove to all his mates that he can pull a bird.

She thinks: Oh no, I'm walking on to the set of a third rate porn-movie. Try: Bring some food round to her place and telling her to relax while you cook. And do her washing up while you're about it.

Try: Taking her to a bar. You choose: Dinner in a really trendy eatery, the sort of place that serves small portions on hexagonal plates, charges a bomb, and has waitresses who look like models.

Try: A more reasonable venue, where she can buy her share of the nosh without having to live on toast for a week. Aretha Brog in FHM features the nineties man.

Do it right

YOU choose: A romantic candlelit dinner for two in your living room. Dimmed lights, mellow music, champagne in the fridge, phone off the hook...

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Big bang

THE COMPOSER Andrew Lloyd Webber is throwing his weight behind a plan to cele-

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Big meal

THERE has been a recent controversy among animal rights activists and Madonna fans regarding her mentioning that she eats foie gras.

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Hair today

"IN THE run up to the competition, I was like an athlete. I was hanging upside down three times a day, getting regular head massages, and wouldn't eat or drink anything after six o'clock. You have to be prepared to make sacrifices to achieve results. In his best Harris tweed and knife-crane Farahs, 51-year-old James Oldham makes an unlikely Olympian (unless hedge trimming is a recognised event at Atlanta this summer). But his single-minded, exacting and frankly weird training regime has prepared him for a world title of his own.

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Now, before I go on, I must make it clear that I had no idea what foie gras was. I didn't even know of the existence of such a thing before Madonna talked about it. I garnered from a fellow fan that it is made out of ducks or chickens, etc and they are force fed beyond the point of becoming obese for the purpose of enhancing their flavour. Then they are slaughtered and served in fine restaurants to the heartless, cold-blooded pigs such as Madonna. Now I don't know how the animals that she eats feel, but I think that if I were one of them, I would feel honoured. Actually I don't think there's a word in the English language to describe the ironic elation I would feel to be bestowed with this pleasure. Think about it. I would be feeding, sustaining, revitalising the world's spiritual saviour. I cannot hope to think of any greater ecstasy. Unfortunately, this will never be possible as I am not a duck, a chicken, a cow, a fish, or any other such beast of the earth. Therefore, I am asking Madonna to put herself

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Misplaced nostalgia for years of turpitude Politicians hoist on fifties noose



Larry Elliott

HAROLD Macmillan is such a figure of hate in the modern Conservative Party that the idea of stealing his most famous *but* not is probably anathema to the new right. But sooner or later the temptation will prove irresistible.

Until now, a vestigial sense of decency has prevented any minister from uttering the fateful phrase, but be warned, before the next few months are out the dread words will be spoken: "You've never had it so good."

Kenneth Clarke is the likeliest Cabinet minister to spread the news, and not just because he is one of the few Tories with a good word to say for Supermac. He sincerely believes it and is genuinely perturbed that his economic achievements — the lowest interest rates for a generation, the lowest inflation for 40 years, the fastest-growing large economy in Europe — have yet to be reflected in the polls.

More than that, the Chancellor thinks Britain is on the brink of something big; a level of achievement not witnessed for a good many years. Not since the glory days of Harold Macmillan, in fact.

Actually, it is not just in economic policy that there is a palpable longing to return to what is seen as a kinder, gentler age. The whole of government policy is alive with fifties nostalgia — witness the call for the return of grammar schools and the three Rs, the notion that all the NHS needs is fewer consultants and more Hattie Jacques figures in starched matrons' uniforms and a harsher edge to penal policy.

Nor is this search for the stability and security of a Bygone age confined to the Government. John Major may look back wistfully to the days when Jim Laker and Tony Lock were in tandem at the Oval, bowling them out for Surrey and England, but Labour's emphasis on rights and responsibilities also conjures up memories of the days of consensus and moral certainty.

As such, Labour argues that the state's duty is to take people off welfare and into work, thereby releasing funds for more useful categories of spending. In return, though, parents should take responsibility for their children, while neighbours should be neighbourly and not play rock music until four in the morning.

In some ways the nostalgia is easy to comprehend. From the vantage point of the insecure nineties they are seen as the days of plenty, when Britain had full employment, rising living standards and low levels of crime. By contrast, the rest of the world is almost unrecognisable in the

past week has left the impression of a lawless society teetering on the brink of anarchy — and where the line between right and wrong has all but disappeared for large chunks of a lawless, amoral population.

But there are some big problems with this thesis, not least that we are a totally degenerate nation, turned bad by the permissive society of Mrs Thatcher (depending on your point of view).

If the moral judgment is troublesome, so are the economic facts. While a return to the full-employment society of Butskellism is long overdue, the reality is that the fifties was a wasted decade.

True, there was growth and full (male) employment, but there was even stronger growth everywhere else in the West. Britain's comparative economic performance was worse in the 1950s than in any post-war decade, as the precipitous decline in the value of world trade in manufacturing shows conclusively. In 1950, a quarter came from British factories; by 1964 the figure had dropped to 14 per cent.

A recent book, *Government versus the Market* (Roger Middleton, Edward Elgar, £75) underlines how poor the

A decade that was culturally barren, authoritarian and suffused with repressed violence

economy's performance was at that time. Britain's growth rate was only 58 per cent of the OECD average between 1960 and 1969, compared with 79 per cent between 1960 and 1973, and 85 per cent between 1973 and 1979. Of 16 OECD countries, Britain ranked 16th in the fifties, 13th in the sixties and a credible 10th in the much-vilified 1970s.

Only part of this can be attributed to catching up by nations devastated by the second world war. The UK had the chance to retool, reinvent and rebuild, but through a mixture of complacency and military over-reach it tossed away the opportunity. Harold Wilson was right in 1964 to talk about 13 wasted years; the problem was that his attempt to break out of a low-growth, low-productivity trap with the National Plan came at least 10 years too late.

The sad fact is that Britain lived off its fat during the 1950s. Global reconstruction meant that exporters did not have to try very hard, and they didn't.

Product innovation was poor, investment was sluggish, and far too much research and development was wasted on the military and white elephants such as nuclear power stations. Meanwhile, the Germans, the Japanese and the French were concentrating on washing machines, TVs, cars and cameras: goods that the new generation of consumers actually wanted.

Britain's role as the under-achiever of the West is very much reflected in the popular

culture of the time. In film, the decade started with *Management and Unions* conspiring against Alec Guinness's inventor in the Ealing comedy, *The Man in the White Suit*; it ended with Terry Thomas' *louché* ex-army personnel manager and Peter Sellers' *bolshie* trade unionist in *I'm All Right, Jack*.

As with the Government's crowing about its handling of the economy, it is possible to make the fifties look good, but only by British standards, and in the light of what has happened subsequently.

Certainly there was no sense, as the sixties dawned, that the fifties had been a golden age. Rather, there was soul-searching as politicians scoured the world for the elixir of faster growth. Again, this should give us pause for thought. The one reason the fifties has attained its exalted status is that the economy is seen to have worked; strip that away and you are left with a decade that was culturally barren, socially authoritarian and suffused with repressed violence.

Our images of the fifties are of the Coronation and of the conquest of Everest, but it was also an era in which homosexuality was banned, back-street abortionists flourished, the Lord Chamberlain censored the theatre, women were left to stew at home while the male breadwinner brought in the family wage, racism was rampant and teenage boredom was manifested in teddy-boy violence.

The one positive thing that can be said about the fifties — in social policy, particularly — is that it was the necessary precursor to the 1960s. It was no accident that the subsequent revolution in attitudes was spearheaded by all the groups that had been marginalised or repressed in the fifties — women, blacks, the young, gays.

Britain in the 1960s has some disquieting echoes of the fifties. There is the same complacency about an economy still suffering from under-investment, and the same willingness to impose a top-down Daily Express-style morality on the populace.

This is dangerous territory, and not just because we are not being offered full employment and egalitarianism as social cement. Politicians make easy political capital out of attacking trendy teachers and single mothers because they are struggling to come up with answers to the big economic questions. Here the fifties experience tells us little, unless we are prepared for a right-wing agenda that would force women back into the home and take the logic of the recent rightward drift in law and order policy to its logical conclusion.

Sadly, this is not unthinkable any more. Come the election, Mr Clarke's mini-consumer boom may have created an aura of prosperity in the way that Macmillan's "easy, boss summer" of 1959 clawed back Gaiskell's lead during the sluggish year of 1958. But if that is not enough to turn the tide — and it probably won't be — how better to woo back voters than by offering a referendum on the return of that unforgettable symbol of the fifties: the noose?



Corporate ring masters... Georgia Tech provides most of the housing for athletes taking part in the Atlanta Games

Two ways of going for Olympic gold

Barcelona -v- Atlanta contest on Games financing shows Keynes as a clear winner, says ANDY ROBINSON

DURING Atlanta's Olympic preparations, Chuck Ruthener recalls in his new book, *Imagining Atlanta* (Verso), the city council marketing director had a bright idea.

Why not find corporate sponsors for the city's streets, parks and neighbourhoods and rename them? "Look, we need the money; I don't see any difference in us taking money from Coke and renaming the street Coca-Cola Boulevard, and Michael Jordan wearing a Nike hat on the beach."

The proposal was turned down, not so much because Atlanta's Olympic organisers felt there was anything wrong with a Coca-Cola Street or a Pepsi Park. Rather, "it opened up the frightening prospect of 'ambush marketing' by corporate rivals of the official Olympic sponsors", Ruthener says.

Three years on, Atlanta's street names may be the same but you would be lucky to find them among the billboards jostling for urban space with 3-D corporate logos and hospitality tents.

From the start, Billy Payne, the real estate lawyer who heads the Atlanta Olympic Committee, has added a paternalistic touch to the city slogan "Come share our dream". It reads: "No white elephants, no public debt. There are almost four times as many corporate sponsors for 1996 Olympics as

looks like good, American fiscal rectitude. Aesthetically questionable, but can we really afford culture? Spain's budget deficit rose from 4 to 7 per cent of GDP between 1992 and 1993 as the Olympic and Expo 92 bills arrived just as the economy slowed.

That is until you look at the two cities. Take parks and public spaces. Barcelona increased its green areas by 50 per cent under the Olympic urban strategy and placed public parks in 150 neighbourhoods. A sea-view promenade replaced the old docks, and 19 miles of coastline were cleaned up and turned into beaches, generally used by Barcelona's low-income families (the well-off head for the Costa Brava). A ring road was built around the city, which took traffic out of the centre and brought strollers back to the boulevard's Paseo de Gracia, Rambla de Catalunya. And not one Ramba de Reseok.

Public investment was crucial, says Oriol Bohigas, the socialist architect known as the council's "enlightened despot". But so were strict controls on how private capital could be spent in the Vila Olimpica, where 2,000 new apartments and twin towers overlook a yacht marina and the new beaches, strict norms on zoning, building density and height enabled the socialist council to keep things more or less under control.

Barcelona's secret does seem to be a combination of Mr Bohigas's aesthetic despotism and the city's first democratic urban plan, drawn up by the socialist council in 1981.

and private capital was mobilised, as well as public support. Mr Bohigas, an architect who had led the resistance to cheap-skate housing and property sharks under Franco, ensured that the planning and aesthetic norms were not bent too far by business interests or dubious popular tastes.

But there was a big difference compared with Atlanta. In Barcelona, the city mobilised the multinationals around the Games. In Atlanta, things appear to have been the other way around.

The economic consequences of the Barcelona Games were unexpectedly Keynesian. The impact of the public works was about \$21 billion between 1987 and

1992, 0.9 per cent of Spanish GDP, according to the council. The University of Georgia puts the economic impact of Atlanta at \$5 billion. The Barcelona council argues: "It seems likely that the effects of the Olympic Games mitigated the effects of the 1993 recession." The 30 per cent devaluation of the peseta helped, too. Unemployment in the city is 4.5 points below the rate for Spain as a whole.

Scott and the European Commission do not like the economics one bit. But the people of Barcelona seem to. The socialists increased their vote and won in Barcelona in the March elections despite being heavily defeated in all the other big Spanish cities. *Andy Robinson is a journalist on Cinco Dias, the Spanish financial daily newspaper*

Indicators

TODAY — US: Business inventories (May).	UK: Unemployment (Jun).
US: Current account (Apr).	UK: Average earnings (May).
US: Trade balance (Apr).	UK: Industrial production (May).
TOMORROW — US: CPI (Jun).	UK: Jobless claims.
US: Industrial production (Jun).	UK: Trade balance (May).
US: Real earnings (Jun).	UK: Humphrey Hawkins testimony.
UK: GDP (Q1).	UK: M3 (Jun).
UK: PSBR (Jun).	UK: Prov money supply (Jun).
WEDNESDAY — US: Housing starts (Jun).	UK: Household consumption (May).
	UK: Retail sales (May).

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.6675	France 7.74	Italy 2.336	Singapore 2.15
Austria 18.13	Germany 2.2950	Malta 0.5490	South Africa 8.56
Belgium 47.21	Greece 363.50	Netherlands 2.36	Spain 192.75
Canada 2.08	Hong Kong 11.73	New Zealand 2.20	Sweden 10.25
Cyprus 0.7045	India 55.07	Norway 9.95	Switzerland 1.8075
Denmark 6.9750	Ireland 0.9400	Portugal 236.90	Turkey 123.888
Finland 7.16	Israel 4.96	Saudi Arabia 5.80	USA 1.52

More is better when it comes to MPs' pay

BRIEFING/In theory, legislators should be paid even more than they believe their jobs are worth. SARAH RYLE explains

PUTTING to one side the moral outrage generated by politicians' self-awarded 26 per cent pay rise (eat out those hearts, train drivers), there is an economic case for the increase.

This has little to do with the rule of supply and demand in its pure form. Britain has more politicians per capita than many of our nearest European neighbours and there is a case for reviewing this situation. If anything, we have a glut of politicians, whose salaries should therefore be reduced, not raised.

The economic argument for paying MPs more than the market-clearing wage is based on the efficiency-wage theory. This holds down to the belief that good workers are hard to come by and once found are worth hanging on to. Conversely, if you pay peanuts then you get monkeys.

The electorate, as the employer, knows that it can fill the Commons by paying a basic wage of £34,000 because that is what most MPs were earning when they stood for election. It is possible that sufficient political bottoms

could have been found to fill the benches at less than that — say £30,000 — because people become MPs for all sorts of reasons besides the remuneration.

But by paying a wage of £43,000 we could create a

There is a moral hazard as workers put in the least effort which they can get away with

more efficient legislature. We could get more from our representatives by paying them more than they would be prepared to work for.

There are two main reasons for this. The first is to tempt high-quality candidates to do the job and then keep them. The efficiency-wage theory argues that if wages are too low then the most productive workers will take their talents elsewhere.

hazard in any job as each worker is theoretically tempted to put as little effort in as he or she can get away with. If being "caught slack-jawed" and so being sacked from a party post or losing an election means an MP stands to lose more money than he or she could earn in another job, there is an incentive to work hard.

If this holds good for MPs, however, then it also applies to other public servants such as teachers, who earn an average £18,375 a year after five years' service. The Government has expressed concern about teaching standards, so it ought to back an efficiency wage for them. Nurses, too, would benefit because fewer would be tempted out of the NHS and into private work. There is also a supply and demand case — which does not apply to MPs — for boosting these workers' wages, particularly in the case of nurses.

It is not surprising that these groups are enraged by what they view as the hypocrisy of politicians voting themselves a massive pay rise while capping others' at 3 per cent. MPs will not have to find any of their pay rise from efficiency savings or have it linked to productivity gains.

But, aside from the moral argument, the economic case for a consistent approach is strong.

If only all forecasters were this accurate...

BOB EGERTON, a businessman based in Plymouth, has won the Economics Page forecasting competition for the second time.

His first victory was in 1992 — and he used the prize champagne to celebrate another important event that year: his marriage. Then, Mr Egerton's anticipation of sterling's devaluation in 1992 after Black Wednesday was uniquely canny among entrants, gaining him critical extra points.

In winning the 1995 competition, it was pessimism about UK economic growth that boosted his score. He got full marks for forecasting GDP growth in 1995 of 2.5 per cent.

He was also very close in his estimates for four of the remaining five economic indicators which made up the



Financial editor Alex Brummer gives Bob Egerton the prize competition, but admitted himself that his guess for base lending rates at the end of 1995 was a wild one at 10 per cent compared to the actual level of 6.5 per cent. The remaining correct answers were: seasonally adjusted unemployment in December (2,340,000); underlying inflation in the fourth quarter (3.8 per cent); current account deficit for 1995 (£5.7 billion) and the sterling/mark exchange rate on December 31, 1995 (2.22).

Married to the mob market

Worm's eye Dan Atkinson

HILARIOUS-sounding American threats last week to arrest British and Canadian businessmen for the heinous crime of trading with Cuba ought to surprise no one who has observed Brother Yank's recent excursions into what may be termed "regulatory imperialism".

With two thirds of world trade in dollars and 99 per cent of dollar deals clearing through New York, our transatlantic friends have taken it upon themselves to supervise most of the world's business. Of course, the Cuba em-

bargo is a special case, its force a tribute to the enduring power of organised crime. The "confiscated assets" were mainly owned by gangsters and mafiosi from the US mainland.

Should anyone feel that perhaps Castro is a bit of a swine, they ought to bear in mind his great achievement in shutting down the mob's very own client state.

Elsewhere, the bid to become world financial regulator is prosecuted by intelligence officers, under-employed since the cold war's end, and by business interests keen to ensure the deregulated global market is not so deregulated as to threaten their own position.

Washington to push off. But Britain itself is hardly immune to the temptation of carving out a world-policing role for itself. Last week's report from the Serious Fraud Office, for example, listed 21 investigations in progress here, using draconian talk-or-else powers. These powers were justified on the grounds that fraud had become a national emergency.

Now, we claim jurisdiction over any fraud happening to pass through London. In other words, we may not be able to keep order on our council estates, but can stamp out money-laundering on the Cook Islands.

This frenetic Batman and Robin activity would be amusing were the civil liberties' implications not so serious.

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INSTRUMENTS FOR PROFESSIONALS

B&H Cup final

Austin puts on the brake with a touch of innuendo

Mike Selvey at Lord's

LANCASHIRE retained the Benson and Hedges Cup here because they had the nous and nerve to survive what became a frenetic game that swayed this way and that like a Saturday-night drunk. There is, after all, no substitute for experience.

It was, as the Lancashire captain Mike Watkinson said afterwards, an all-round team performance on a cracking new pitch — one that will be used for the Test next year — in a match that lacked a definitive performance with the bat and where any number of promising partnerships failed to come to fruition.

From it all, though, Graham Gooch and his match-adjudication panel found a Gold Award winner: Giles Ian Austin in half and there would be Lancashire written through him like a stick of rock. He is a burly, jaunty but slightly dumpy fellow with the rolling gait and ruddy complexion of a stoker on a merchant steamer. His neck goes straight up the back of his hat, too. All in all he makes for an unlikely hero.

This is a good cricketer, though, good enough, were it not for the rigorous fielding demands of the international one-day game, to be a tender for England. He bounces in like a beach ball along the sands at Southport and bowls a decent, honest-to-goodness medium pace with no outward menace but full of innuendo.

Probing and plugging away, Austin's bats are skinned by means other than pace. Then put a bat in his hand and he hits with vigorous left-handedness and enough skill to be capable of a century.

Saturday was his day and to him fell the honour of concluding the match, when he best Tony Penberthy's last-ditch heave and rearranged his furniture. It was his fourth wicket, the second of a spell that sealed the match, and he had conceded only 21 runs — exemplary stuff on such a good pitch.

But his best work was done at the start of the Northamptonshire innings when they set off in pursuit of 246, a tantalising target betwixt and between a stroll and the unassailable.

From the bowlers it required a cool head and the capacity to cope with the World Cup-style fielding restrictions. Austin responded wonderfully well, having David Capel caught at the wicket and bowling Alan Fordham off the under-edge inside his first four overs, eventually completing a seven-over spell that cost a measly seven runs. The damage was done.

Had Northamptonshire got off to a flier, the momentum would possibly have carried them to victory. Instead they were always under pressure to catch up. They tried, first

of all with a third-wicket stand of 67 between Bob Bailey, who knuckled down faithfully to make 36, and Richard Montgomerie (42), who launched his own counter-attack by riling Glen Chapelle three times through mid-wicket in his first over. Later the sixth wicket added 52, Kevin Curran, living life on the wire, contributing 35 and Tim Walton 23.

But, though there were signs that the pressure was beginning to tell on Lancashire, Watkinson never relinquished control. "We knew that, if we bowled well, then our total was perfectly defensible," he said. But he also knew that, having won the toss and batted, his side missed the chance to post a total that would have put the game out of Northamptonshire's reach.

Lancashire were stifled by Curly Ambrose at the start and he ripped out his first five overs for three runs. Then John Emburey, whose haircut now resembles an Edgbaston Test pitch, slotted into his old armchair at the Pavilion End and peeled off his 10 overs for 38.

The Lancashire innings was given momentum, as it so often is, by Neil Fairbrother, who chumped the ball with gusto, scampered his runs and made 68 from 70 balls before he changed Capel and was bowled.

At the award ceremony Bob Willis, a master of ceremonies straight from the undercard at the York Hall in Bethnal Green, referred to him as the "Manic Midget".

It was, apparently, a new sobriquet. Willis will be spending some time in the High Court this week as a witness in the Ian Botham-Alan Lamb-Imran Khan libel case. If Fairbrother's look could have sued, the former England captain would be advised to take out a season ticket there.

Scoreboard

Lancashire	
M J Watkinson c Emburey b Taylor	46
R J Giddey run out	17
J P Crawley c Walton b Penberthy	34
H H Fairbrother b Capel	68
M J Lloyd b Taylor	11
T W Curran c Walton b Penberthy	35
G Vasey c Penberthy b Capel	0
G Chapelle not out	0
R J Giddey not out	18
Extras (wk, nb)	18
Total (for 8, 60 overs)	246
Fall of wickets: 15, 22, 100, 121, 180, 200, 228, 244	
Bowling: Ambrose 10-2-38-1; Taylor 8-0-52-2; Curran 7-0-45-0; Capel 10-1-22-1	
Northamptonshire	
D J Capel c Hogg b Austin	0
A Fordham b Austin	4
R J Giddey c Hogg b Chapelle	44
R R Montgomerie c Hogg b Vasey	42
M M Curran c Crawley b Chapelle	11
J J Watkinson c Crawley b Watkinson	22
T C Walton c Hogg b Watkinson	23
T Penberthy b Austin	8
J E Emburey b Austin	8
C E L. Ambrose run out	10
J P Taylor not out	12
Extras (wk, nb)	24
Total (48.3 overs)	214
Fall of wickets: 1, 10, 97, 111, 182, 194, 228, 244	
Bowling: Austin 9.5-5-81-4; Martin 8-0-52-2; Vasey 10-2-24-1; Watkinson 10-2-32-1; Walton 10-1-23-1; Montgomerie 10-1-22-1	



Dying Embers... Austin is mobbed by Lancashire team-mates after bowling Emburey

Imran faces Botham in Royal Courts



Frank Keating

THREE years ago after suing Allan Lamb over his ball-tampering accusations in the public prints, the plaintiff and Pakistan bowler Sarfraz Nawaz withdrew from his case in its fourth day at the High Court just as an immaculately tied and sober-suited Ian Botham was about to be called to play his innings for the defence.

One sensed then, however, that the courtroom esper between proud, boldly stubborn men still had some mileage left in it — and sure enough the modern opera's sequel to all intents begins again this morning in Room 13 of the Royal Courts of Justice, the plot changed this time only inasmuch as it is Botham and Lamb who are suing for libel and the defendant is the most famous Pakistani cricketer of all, Imran Khan.

For purely legal buffs, too, it is a battle of heavyweights. The questing bouncers could be hostile. Imran will be, he says, "vigorously represented" by George Carman QC, master of the put-down. Botham and Lamb field just compelling a libel silk in the colourfully ironic Charles Gray, QC. The match is expected to last a fortnight and England's Test match against Pakistan in the same city next week will have to be a cooler even to compete for headlines space.

The combined costs of the action could exceed £500,000 and, although Botham and Lamb are bringing separate actions, they have significantly chosen to sue Imran personally rather than seek damages from the newspapers in India and England which printed his allegations.

The core of the matter may be ball-tampering — picking the seam and gouging the ball for a swing bowler to gain an advantage — but this case promises much more than testimony on such arcane aerodynamic mysteries as are covered by Law 42 of cricket.

This bewigged battle might only be missing sex (although do not count on that either), for there should be lashings of other things over the next two weeks.

Botham and Lamb allege that Imran, who had admitted in his authorised biography that he had tampered with the ball in his time — even using a bottle-top to gouge it when he was playing for Sussex during 1981 — said in subsequent interviews that it was common practice and that

"the biggest names in English cricket have all done it". At which, of course, the biggest name in English cricket demanded an apology — and, when that was not forthcoming, buckled on his charcoal-grey suit and prepared to ride down to the High Court.

Botham, in his autobiography, answered Imran's charges: "With hand on heart I can categorically state that never once have I done anything illegal with a cricket ball. Unlike Imran I have never lifted the seam. I have never scratched the surface of the ball and I have never gouged one with a bottle-top."

But the nub of the action is an interview given by Imran to the magazine *India Today* in which he said: "It's the English media and a section of cricketers who have blown it [tampering] out of all proportion" and that "there is a lot of racism here... where is this hatred coming from?"

In the long interview Imran said such cricketers as Christopher Martin-Jenkins, Tony Lewis, an England captain in the Seventies, and another former Test all-rounder Derek Pringle — "all educated, Oxbridge types" — took his own rational view about tampering being as old as the game itself and the need to pass firm enforceable legislation about it. "Look at the others, Lamb, Botham and Trueman," he stated. "The difference in class and upbringing makes a difference."

At which Botham, in his best-selling memoir, leaped on to his high horse, claymore swirling and writes flaying — "I notice Imran referring to us by our surnames. I notice also that Imran went to Oxford. If an Oxford education tells you that it's all right to cheat, then give me Buckley's *Mean* Secondary Modern School any time."

THIS morning a judge announces "Play!" Then, doubtless, most is admissible from that long-ago throwaway line about holidaying mothers-in-law in Pakistan to transcripts of the Botham-Lamb cabaret roadshow *Beef & Lamb Stew*.

It was at Oxford in the pastoral Parks all of 22 summers ago that Botham, gawky Somerset rookie on his first-class debut, opposed for the first time the princely young Patman Imran, captain of the university. Imran made the top score with 20 and took 10 wickets for 58. Botham bowled three overs (ought for 10) and made two.

True greatness was to embrace them both, these two fiercely uncompromising warriors — and as they were in Gurnells, so they are in bespoke grey suits. But this time two owned QCs will pace out the long run-up and paw the earth as they turn to begin the morning's entertainment.

Brown and Holloake cut loose to launch Surrey to the top of the Sunday League

SURREY leaptfrogged over Middlesex and Kent, who both lost, to the top of the Sunday League yesterday after beating Worcestershire on a faster scoring rate at The Oval.

Surrey restricted Worcestershire to a modest 175 and then had that target revised to 187 from 34 overs

after rain intervened between innings. They set about the chase with great gusto and reached 162 for two off 34 overs.

Alistair Brown, who hit 55 off 39 balls including 10 boundaries, and Surrey's vice-captain Adam Holloake, who struck four sixes and three fours in an

unbeaten 47 off 37 balls, were the main scorers while England's Graham Thorpe made an untroubled 36 not out.

Middlesex, the leaders before yesterday's games, suffered their second successive defeat when they were beaten by seven wickets at Grace Road.

Leicestershire can thank Phil Simmons for their success. The West Indian all-rounder produced career-best bowling figures of five for 37. He followed that with a superb unbeaten 92 off 94 balls with nine fours and was denied the chance of a century only when his fourth-wicket partner Gre-

gor Macmillan hit a four and a six off successive deliveries to win the match.

Kent, who began the day in second place, slipped to an unexpected defeat by 22 runs against Gloucestershire at Moreton-in-Marsh. The champions, having restricted the home side to 165 for seven, then slumped

to 143 all out in 36.2 overs.

A brilliant undetested 112 by Emily Drummond put New Zealand in a strong position in the third women's Test at Guildford. The tourists declared their second innings at 219 for four at the close, leaving England needing 311 off a minimum of 100 overs today.

Olympic Games

Rendle sets out for a real gold



Thrown over... Rendle's power destroys an opponent

THERE is not a great inclination among sensible people to tell Sharon Rendle when to do anything. So, when people in British judo started pushing for younger blood on the team, Rendle, approaching the veteran stage, took it personally.

Rendle was a fighter without equal among the featherweights. She is 5ft 11in and 115lb but that weight is so purposefully distributed that few in the 52kg class could contain her on the mat. She twice won world championships, in 1987 and 1989, and took the 52kg title at the 1988 Olympics. It was a goldless crown, as women's judo was a demonstration sport, but it hallmarked Rendle as the best.

There was a European Championships victory in 1990, a silver in the 1991 World Championships and an Olympic bronze at Barcelona to put on the mantelpiece at Hull — and then Rendle, by her own exemplary standards, went off the boil.

When the European Championships came around last year in Birmingham, Rendle's star was in such decline that she was not selected for Brit-

ain. Following her victory in the British Open, Debbie Allan was given the place. But Allan never got to Birmingham and Rendle seized the chance to restore her reputation. She took bronze and four months later was Britain's only medalist — another younger blood on the team, Rendle, approaching the veteran stage, took it personally.

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14 SPORT/GRAND PRIX/RUGBY



Golden touch... a delighted Jacques Villeneuve shows off the trophy after his unexpected victory



Scarlet-faced... Michael Schumacher limps back to the Ferrari pit only a matter of minutes after leaving it to take up third-place on the grid

PHOTOGRAPH: STEVE ETHERINGTON

Villeneuve victory keeps Hill within his reach

Richard Williams at the British Grand Prix
FTONY BLAIR needed a reminder not to count his votes before they are cast, and then to wait for a recount, he was given one at Silverstone yesterday.

The Labour leader had stood by Damon Hill's car on the grid but then watched Jacques Villeneuve trump his team-mate at the start and pull out a winning lead before Hill, the overwhelming pre-race favourite, retired before half-distance, spinning off when a front wheel nut worked loose.

A dull race was followed by a miserable episode when a technical protest was lodged by Berger's team against the winning Williams, threatening Villeneuve with disqualification.

After three hours of deliberation the Silverstone stewards rejected a protest lodged by the Benetton management, who alleged that the front-wing endplate of the Williams was an illegal design.

There were many victims of yesterday's race, and the first of them was Hill, who had arrived at Silverstone on a wave of local popularity and optimism.

Way past Hill and was in fourth place, behind Villeneuve, Alesi and Hakkinen, as they crossed the line at the end of the first lap.

Twickenham moves to save England's Five Nations place

Players threaten to form rebel side in new tournament as Wales, Ireland, Scotland and France go it alone

Robert Armstrong
ENGLAND will hold 11th-hour talks with BSkyB and members of the Five Nations Committee this week in an attempt to reverse the decision to exclude from the Five Nations Championship.

selecting another international side. Without any dissent I don't think the championship would be up to standard were England to be replaced by say Italy or Spain.

alone and negotiate its own TV deal. "I have been disappointed with the English stance for the last couple of months, as indeed have my colleagues on the other unions. One felt there might be a reconsideration at the RFU annual meeting, but it was not to be.

that will not be as part of any competition, championship or challenge." Bishop said he was "mystified" by the home unions' decision. "Obviously they have met on their own without our knowledge or invitation. They have excluded us even though we have a contract with them [with the BBC] and we have another year to run on that contract. If we are talking about next season, then they are breaking the existing contract."

All black day for the 'Voice of Rugby'

Ian Mallin
THE "Voice of Rugby" sounded a little choked yesterday. Bill McLaren has been commenting on the Five Nations Championship since the Wales-Scotland game at Cardiff in 1953. He is contracted to work for the BBC until his current television deal runs out next spring.

mood. "Of course we knew that this breakdown by the smaller nations might happen, but it was still distressing to read those headlines this morning."

can save the tournament that has been the shop-window for the European game for over a century.

Alan Hosie, Scottish Five Nations representative: "We were most disappointed... consequently we had no alternative but to exclude England."

Rugby League

Super League: St Helens 58, Halifax 20

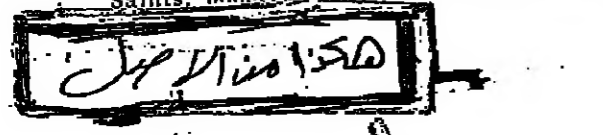
Cunningham treble sends Saints soaring

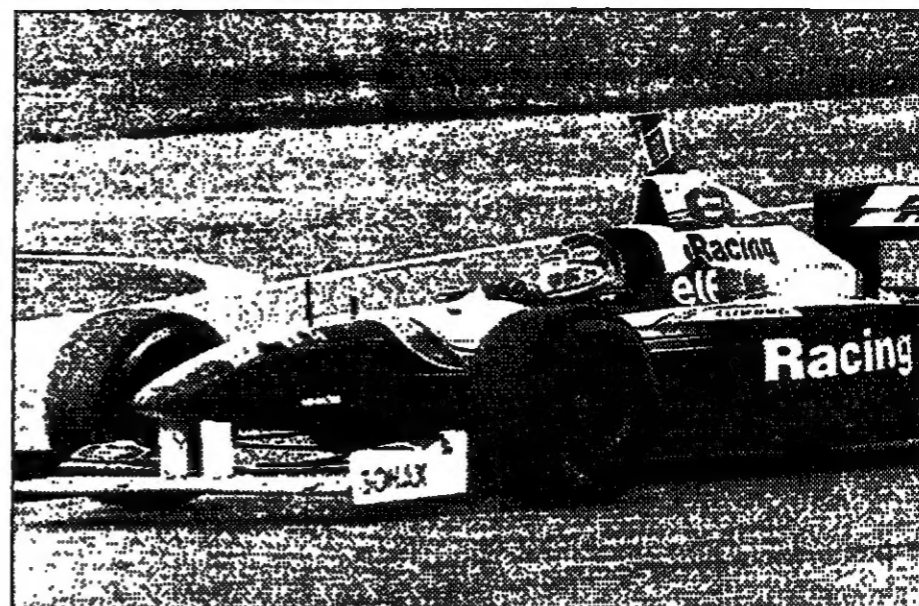
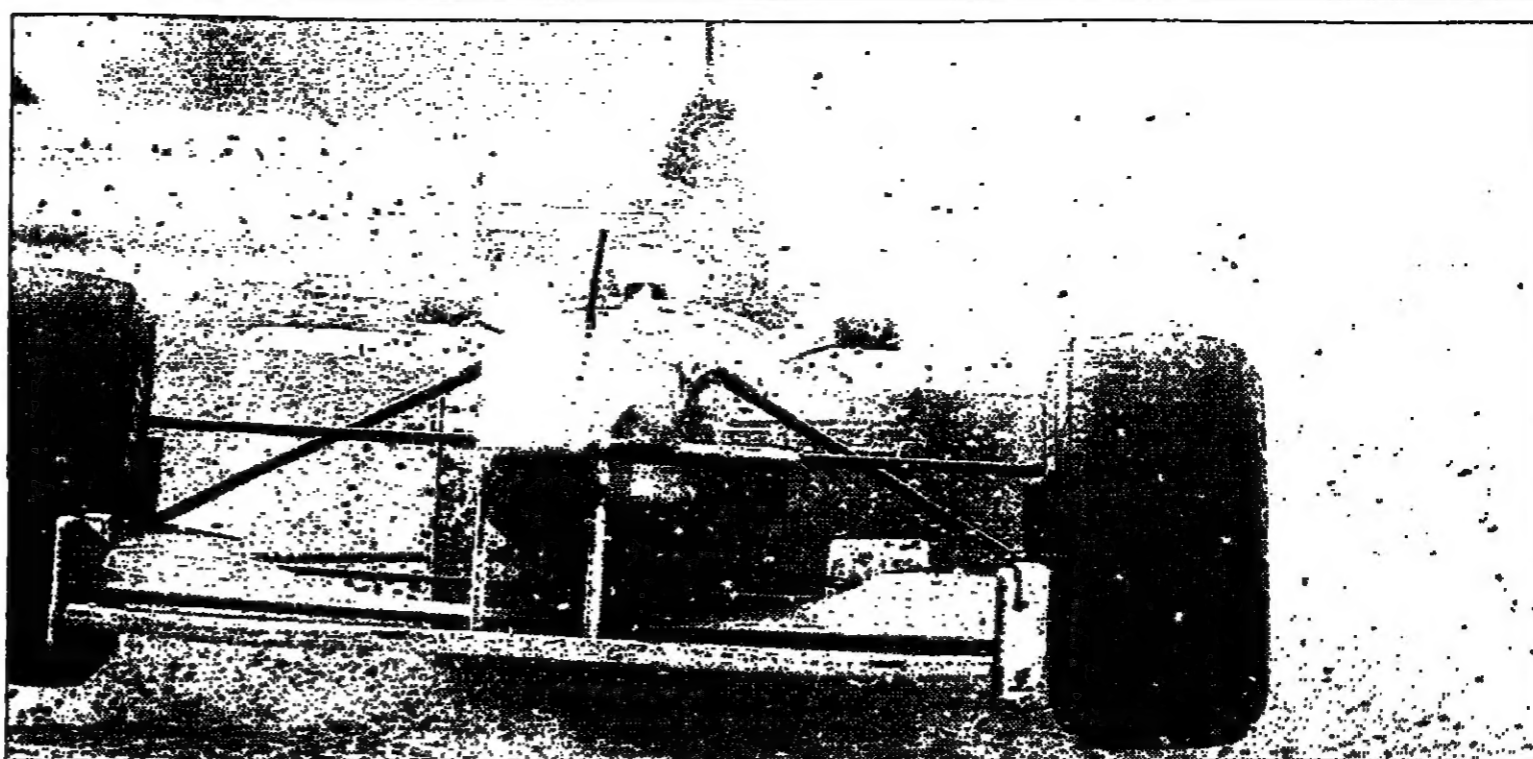
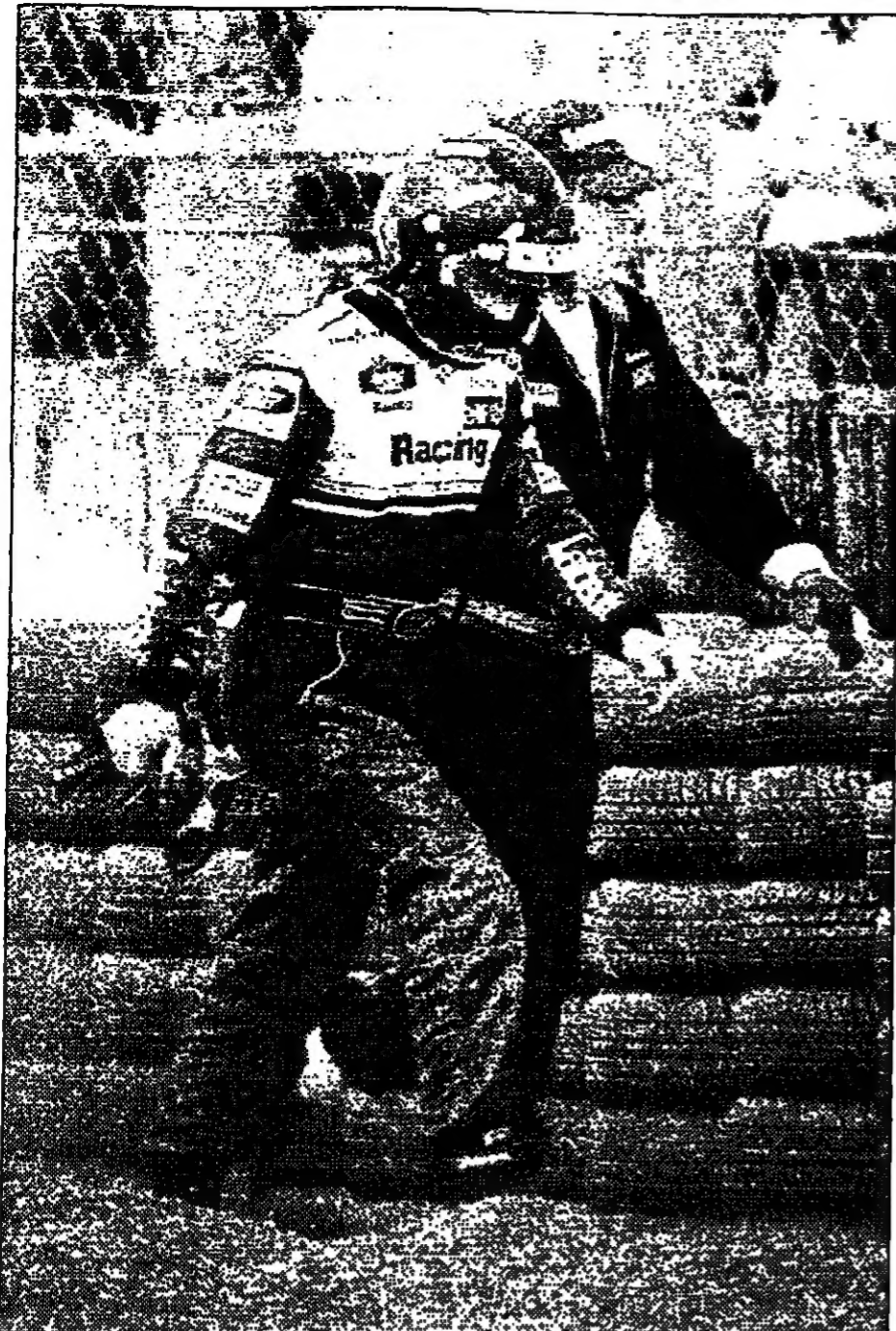
Andy Wilson
KERON Cunningham ensured that St Helens capitalised on Wigan's shock defeat on Friday with an opportunistic hat-trick that left Halifax with their Blue Sox around their ankles.

Saints line then showing strength, neat footwork and a long arm to touch down in the right corner. Schuster converted to reduce the deficit to two points.

Schuster took his goals tally to four from four. But Cunningham set up Hunt and then scored his third try, also from dummy half, in the space of three minutes and Hayes and Hammond added further tries as Saints passed 50.

LEEDS came, saw and almost conquered at Bramall Lane last night before subsiding to a 34-31 defeat to Sheffield, writes Don Bee. Eagles, 18-0 ahead at half-time, were rocked by six tries that put Leeds in front but Sheffield came again to snatch victory.





Anatomy of a grand prix... Damon Hill, top, spins out of contention seconds after complaining to his pit about problems with a wheel-bearing; his team-mate Jacques Villeneuve, below, cruises to a second grand-prix victory in what is his first season in Formula One; a disconsolate Michael Schumacher, bottom centre, talks to the press after his Ferrari's second embarrassing failure in successive races; and Hill, left, sets out on the long walk back to the Williams pit

Inside-track manoeuvres for the pole positions

Alan Henry on the uncertainty driving the pit-lane rumour mill

JACQUES Villeneuve's flawless performance laid to rest more than a month of speculation that Williams-Renault were on the verge of replacing the Canadian driver next season, despite the fact that he has a two-year contract with them. It is a measure of the uncertainties of Formula One that some observers regard contracts as trivial matters. Unfortunately the sceptics seem to have wrongly interpreted Frank Williams's silence as a tacit acknowledgement that the IndyCar champion has been a disappointment and not up to the mark demanded by such a top team.

But Williams remains non-committal about contractual matters. "I never discuss details of driver contracts," he repeated wearily over the weekend. Privately, however, he expressed bewilderment that anybody seriously doubted that Williams would see out his commitment with Villeneuve.

By contrast Villeneuve was rather less diplomatic in his comments. He briskly dis-

missed media reports on the subject of his possible departure from Williams as "rags", adding: "I know where I'm staying next year and that's all that counts. One person starts a rumour and then everybody's writing it. My contract is concrete."

Much of this frenzied gossip can be attributed to the speculation concerning possible engine supply deals for the Williams and Benetton teams beyond the end of 1997 when Renault withdraws from F1.

Such a shift in grand prix racing's balance of power has left many drivers trying to second-guess how to position themselves in the right place at the right time.

With this in mind it is no secret that Heinz-Harald Frentzen now feels it is time to move on to a fresh challenge after three years with the Sauber team. He has also been approached by the Jordan team, who are anxious to secure a top driver for 1997 in a bid to convince Peugeot, their engine suppliers, that it is worth continuing the partnership into 1998.

Elsewhere Mika Hakkinen's name has been linked with the Benetton team although the Finn has hinted that he is most likely to accept an invitation to remain with McLaren-Mercedes in 1997. At Tyrrell Ukyo Katayama's contract expires at the

Silverstone

British Grand Prix 1996

The result:

- 1 J Villeneuve (Canada) Williams
- 2 G Berger (Australia) Benetton
- 3 M Hakkinen (Finland) McLaren
- 4 R Barrichello (Brazil) Jordan
- 5 D Coulthard (GB) McLaren
- 6 M Brundle (GB) Jordan
- 7 M Salo (Finland) Tyrrell
- 8 H-H Frentzen (Germany) Sauber
- 9 J Herbert (GB) Sauber
- 10 J Verstappen (Netherlands) Footwork
- 11 G Fittipaldi (Italy) Minardi



Where they went out

- 12 J Alesi (France) Benetton 44 laps
- 13 O Panis (France) Ligier 40 laps
- 14 P Dini (Brazil) Ligier 38 laps
- 15 D Hill (GB) Williams 26 laps
- 16 P Lamy (Portugal) Minardi 21 laps
- 17 R Rosset (Brazil) Footwork 15 laps
- 18 U Katajima (Japan) Tyrrell 12 laps
- 19 E Irvine (GB) Ferrari 5 laps
- 20 M Schumacher (Germany) Ferrari 3 laps

end of 1996 but Mika Salo will be staying with the team for 1997, the third season of his present contract.

As for Damon Hill, Frank Williams was not being drawn on the subject of whether or not he would be staying. "I got a lot of press cuttings on my desk yesterday morning, all saying the same things," he said. "I thought 'Damon is sending me a message'. But the press cuttings fall off the desk into the rubbish bin, as they always do. I can make no comment whether he will or will

not be with us next year. I simply don't know."

However, the wildest rumour of all was that Ferrari's sporting director Jean Todt was on the point of leaving the Italian team and taking Michael Schumacher with him. The gossip suggested that at least one team in the paddock was prepared to write a generous cheque to fund such a transfer and most people concluded the only one with such an obvious interest was McLaren-Mercedes.

McLaren's boss Ron Dennis shrugged aside such specu-

tion, as did a Mercedes spokesman. But it was a tempting proposition.

With Hakkinen having qualified the better-placed McLaren only 0.9sec away from Hill in pole position, the conclusion seems logical. But Schumacher in a McLaren-Mercedes and he would be quickest. It must be a tempting prospect for the German, even though his manager Willy Weber confirmed that he had a rock-solid contract with Ferrari to the end of next season. Beyond that point all bets are off.

Manufacturers' marque time with boys from the brown stuff

Mark Redding at Silverstone

AFTER the champagne supernovas of Formula One came the brown ale, belts and braces of saloon-car racing as Silverstone flicked from the society pages to the classified ads the Auto Trader RAC British Touring Car Championship.

This competition's days in motor racing's working-class ghetto may be numbered, however, as the BTCC is the latest upwardly mobile sport.

The evidence: more than three million people tune in to the BBC's coverage, which is expanding to fill the gap that will be left by the loss of the Formula One contract to ITV next year; the reigning champion John Cleland earns a stockbroker-size salary of £100,000-plus; and Frank Biela, the ice-cool German leading this season's standings, commutes to races from his flat in Monaco.

The manufacturers, acutely aware of the importance of winning in the 1990s, are

turning to F1 expertise to help them make their marque Renault are reliant on Williams, BMW on McLaren and Volvo on TWR. The brains behind Ligier and Arrows.

The appeal of the sport is simple. Give or take a stripped metal interior, a roller and a two-litre engine capable of 800 horsepower — almost three times that of a road-going model — these are the cars the punters drove here in their tens of thousands: Vauxhalls, Volvos, BMWs, Renaults, Hondas and Peugots.

The close identification with marques by the man in the street, though, can be a two-edged sword. Cleland won his title in a Vauxhall Cavalier but this season switched to a Vectra, which underwhelmed the motoring press when the road-going version was launched. It has not enhanced its reputation by winning only one race, and that in the hands of the team's second driver.

With Cleland languishing in the standings and only five more events to go, the Scot could be said to be driving in the Last Chance saloon. Each event features two 15-lap races and in the 15th round on Saturday Cleland could manage only another disappointing placing, 10th.

The race was won by Italy's

Roberto Ravaglia in a BMW ahead of Sweden's Rickard Rydell in a Volvo. Biela, who has stolen Cleland's days of thunder this year, was third in a four-wheel-drive Audi to consolidate his healthy lead in the championship.

To help maintain the exciting nip-and-tuck racing that is the BTCC's stock-in-trade, the successful cars are handicapped by weight penalties. After four wins, including the opening three races, Biela's Audi now carries an extra 66lb. "It was definitely a little bit slower than the others down the straight," the German said on Saturday, lighting a cigarette.

Yesterday, a bumper-to-bumper thriller saw Biela fight off Ravaglia to finish second behind David Leslie's Honda Accord, which had started from pole in both races. Leslie, a Scot, at least gave the Union Jack wavers in the crowd something to cheer with his first win of the season; Cleland had drifted into the pits after brushing John Birtchcliffe's Audi.

Biela increased his standings lead to 55 points — a win earns 15 points — from Switzerland's Alain Menu in the Williams Renault. "It's still too early and dangerous to talk about a championship. We have to fight to get points but the main thing is, we're on the podium," he said.

Tennis

Lloyd hails 'fantastic job' as GB set up Davis Cup promotion tie

TIM HENMAN and Luke Milligan completed the formalities of Great Britain's Davis Cup victory over Ghana with smooth displays in yesterday's reverse singles, matches that became exhibition three-set affairs after the previous day's decisive doubles win by Neil Brad and Mark Petchey, writes Chris Curtain.

The world No. 39 Henman suffered a minor embarrassment against the unranked Daniel Ombao before step-

ping up a gear to prevail 6-3, 6-0, 6-0, but the teenage Milligan rounded off his splendid debut in testing conditions in Accra with a 6-4, 6-3 win over Isaac Donkor.

Victory in the promotion rubber against Egypt in September, probably at Eastbourne, would see Britain back in Euro-Africa group one on the strength of a four-time unbeaten run. Egypt yesterday clinched victory in their group match against Ivory Coast in Cairo thanks

to a second straight-sets singles win by Tamer el-Sawi, a name that will no doubt soon become more familiar to the British Davis Cup captain David Lloyd.

Lloyd was full of praise for his squad after Brad and Petchey had killed off the tie by beating Donkor and Frank Ofori — the home singles players obliged to double up on Saturday in one last desperate throw of the dice — by 6-1, 6-4, 6-1.

"This could have been a very difficult tie in this sort of heat and with the crowds screaming and shouting but the players have done everything I have asked of them," said Lloyd.

"The umpiring and line calling has been much better than we might have expected, and all I can say is that my team have done a fantastic job."

In a slightly less dramatic filip for British tennis, Hampshire's Nick Neal pushed his world ranking to a

career-high in the 450s yesterday when he reached the final of the ATP Challenger event at Bristol after coming through as a qualifier.

Weal was eventually beaten 6-4, 6-3 by the Australian 30-year-old Ben Ellwood, ranked No. 3 in the world as a junior, but was happy at the way he earned his biggest cheque, £2,735. "This has been a dream week," said Weal. "I ran out of steam a bit today but I will carry the experience with me for a while."

Equestrianism

Whitaker building up a head of steam for Atlanta

John Kerr at Hickstead

JOHN WHITAKER enjoyed the best possible send-off for the Olympics yesterday, winning the West Sussex Holidays Classic on Grandmarch at the Royal International Horse Show.

In a seven-horse jump-off the Yorkshireman and his 17-year-old, who have won at their past five international shows, managed the fastest of three clear rounds.

Last year's winners William Funnell and Comex looked like running them close until a stop in the double, three fences from home, ruled them out.


Martin Lucas and Senator Lannegan were second, 2.57 seconds behind, while Damian Charles on Shurlands Viking finished third.

On Saturday Nick Skelton, who like Whitaker leaves for Atlanta on Wednesday, had a similar valedictory when winning the King's Cup, Skel-

ton, conspicuously absent from Hickstead for most of the past two seasons, took the trophy — for a third time — with the 10-year-old mare Cathleen III.

Lucas and Senator Lannegan also jumped two clear rounds but a fractional time-penalty left them second.

Marion Hughes and Flo Jo took the Queen's Cup back to Ireland for the second straight year. Veronique Whitaker was second on her Belgian import Eldorado.



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